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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to study the Finnish spoken in the Swedish Torne Valley, its use and development during the 1960s and the 1990s, and how it differs now from the Finnish spoken in the same area in the early 1960s. The study also examines which people speak Finnish in this valley today and in what contexts, as well as how the Finnish language has changed and how linguistic attitudes have shifted since the 1960s. The social and demographic characteristics of Tornedalen Finnish speakers (gender, age groups, occupational differences, etc.) are also studied. Public attitudes in Sweden are changing toward Finnish speaking, and Finnish is now accepted to some extent as a positive sign of cultural identity. As a consequence, interest in reviving Tornedalen Finnish is increasing among Torne Valley residents, many of whom now speak only Swedish. Public opinion is evenly divided between those who favor preserving and reviving this local language, and those who do not. (Contains approximately 350 references.) (KFT)

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

OPPRESSION AND REVIVAL OF A MINORITY LANGUAGE IN SWEDEN

Birger Winsa

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Language Attitudes and Social Identity

Oppression and Revival of a Minority Language in Sweden

Birger Winsa

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PREFACE

This report is supported by the Joint Committee of the Nordic Research Councils for the Humanities, NOS-H (Nordiska samarbetsnämnden för humanistisk forskning). The work started in March 1991 and ended in December 1994.

Professor Heikki Paunonen from the University of Tampere, Finland, and Professor Erling Wande at the Department of Finnish, Stockholm University, were project leaders. They have read and commented on much of the manuscript. My own extensive interest in the project was sometimes very intense and at times unreflective, and the suggestions of Paunonen and Wande have been realistic and linked the report more strongly to its intentions. I also appreciate the generous assistance of Gabor Harrer of the Department of Finnish, Stockholm University, in producing the map that shows the part of Sweden discussed in this report.

Associate Professor Richard B. Baldauf Jr, the President of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, acted as facilitator in having this piece of research published by the Association, and I thank him for his support and for valuing the importance of international colleagues in building applied linguistics as an international discipline. I am also deeply grateful to Dr Pauline Bryant of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia for reworking my English prose and for her excellent editorial work. Any errors in content are of course my own.

I have particularly appreciated the endless patience my wife, Cecilia Nelson, has shown with this project. We had two children, Alva and Ernst, during the project, which has delayed the publication of this report.

The work has been very fruitful from many points of view. One main result has been that the Swedish Government set up a Commission in September 1995 to study and define which parts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages can be applied to the Swedish setting. In order to do this the Committee must define the Swedish linguistic minorities. A second Commission was appointed in 1996 and, according to its directives, will study the possibilities for ratifying the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Without this study I doubt that the Swedish Tornedalians' Association would have been able to nominate a representative to one of the Committees. Thus the report has already

had a direct social influence. It is my deepest wish that this study will have a number of long-lasting direct and indirect benefits for the culture and social life of the Swedish Torne Valley and especially for my mother tongue Tornedalen Finnish, Meänkieli.

Dr Birger Winsa
Stockholm
26 January 1998

ABSTRACT

Tornedalen Finnish is spoken by approximately 20 000–35 000 people in the northern part of Sweden, along the Finnish border, and by about 15 000–25 000 Tornedalians outside the Finnish-speaking area. This report discusses the attitudes revealed by a sociolinguistic study and compares the results with a study conducted in the 1960s. Is bilingual competence still considered of low value or has public debate on Tornedalen Finnish changed people's attitudes?

Swedish is the dominant language in public and private spheres among people up to the age of about 30 years whose parents were born in Sweden, especially in larger villages and among females. The language shift began on a massive scale during the 1950s. A debate about alleged semilingualism among Tornedalians strengthened negative attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish, which is used in contextbound activities, whereas Swedish is used in public as an analytical tool. This division in linguistic behaviour should reflect two different forms of reasoning and understanding language, information and culture. In addition, this perspective may explain earlier alleged lower IQ scores among bilinguals. Illiteracy in a language which is principally used orally causes weaker metalinguistic awareness and may have an effect even on second language competence and thus weaker analytical ability and school success.

Public attitudes are changing, and Finnish is accepted to some extent as a positive signifier of cultural identity. One consequence of this is that several authors now write in Tornedalen Finnish, folksongs are being revived, and amateur theatre is performed in Tornedalen Finnish. Active knowledge of Finnish is rapidly declining, but interest in revitalizing the minority language is increasing among Swedish-speaking Tornedalians. Revival efforts were initiated in the early 1980s. Whether Tornedalen Finnish is a dialect or a language is a hotly debated issue.

In many respects, linguistic attitudes can be said to divide the population into two groups, with about 50 per cent on each side. Attitudes at the local level are reflected among the local, regional and national politicans who had previously maintained an almost complete

neglect of the local language and its value for community identity. More recently the Swedish Parliament has on a number of occasions defined the Tornedalians as an "original native population", rather than a national minority. However, a change in policy is in progress. Sami and Tornedalians may be defined as national minorities of Sweden. This acknowledgement will reinforce transborder cooperation and influence revitalization.

Keywords: Language shift, linguistic prestige, attitudes, bilingualism, language policy, home language, semilingualism, metalinguistic awareness, context bound, context reduced, social context, literacy, minority, self valuation, group identity.

ABSTRAKTI

Noin 20 000–35 000 puhuvat meän kieltä/suomea pohjois Ruottin viiessä alkuperäisessä suomenkielisissä kunnissa. Sen lisäks suunile 15 000–25 000 puhuvat meän kieltä alueen ulkopuolela. Tämä sosiolingvistinen raportti keskustellee asentheita ja vertaa tulokset yhteen 1960-luvun tutkimuksheen. Onkos kakskielisyys vieläki matalassa arvossa, vain onkos pitkäaikanen julkinen keskustelu saanu tornionlaaksolaiset muuttamhaan asentheita?

Ruottin kieli on nykysin dominoiva kieli sekä julkisessa että privaatti domäneissä noin 30 kymmenen ikäistheen asti, joitten vanhemat on syntynheet Ruottissa — olletekki suuremissa kylissä ja vaimoitten kesken. Kielivaihto alkoi voimakhaasti 1950-luvula. 1960-luvun puolikielisyys keskustelut korostivat negatiivisia asentheita meän kielheen, joka käytethään enimäkshen kokemukshiin liittynheissä aloissa. Ruottia käytethään enimäkshen julkisella alala ja analyyttisenä kielenä. Tämä jako kielen käytössä pitäis heijastaa kahta eriä tappaa ajatella ja ymmärtää kieliä, tietoa ja kulttuuria. Sen lisäks tämä perspektiivi saattaa kuvata miksi aiemin väitethiin ette kaksikielisillä oli matalampi IQ taso. Funktiunaalinen analfabetismi suulisessa kielessä aiheuttaa matalaman metalingvistisen tietoisuuen ja vieläpä saattaa vaikuttaa negatiivisesti toisen kielen hallinthaan. Sen seuraus saattaa tuottaa heioman analyyttisen kompetensin joka vaikuttaa koulutuksessa.

Asentheet on muuttumassa ja suomi/meän kieli on jokseenki hyväksytty kulttuurin ja identtiteetin korostajaksi, vaikka noin 50%, niistä jokka ossaava suomea, väittävä ette kakskielisyys on stigma. "Herätysliike" alkoi alku 1980-luvula. Monesta näkökulmasta kieleliset asentheet jakavat asukhaat kahteen lähes yhtä suurhiin ryhmiin. Yks konsekvensi tästä positiivisesti vaikuttavasta identtiteetistä on ette moni kirjailija nyt kirjottaa meän kielelä, kansanlauluja on alettu huomioimhaan, ja amatööriteatterissa käytethään meän kieltä. Aktiivinen meän kielen taito on kätevästi heikkenemässä, mutta innostus säilyttää ja kehittää meän

kielen/suomen on kasvamassa. Murre eli kieli, asia on paljon kiistelty.
Paikkakunnan asentheet paljastuvat kans pulitiikeritten työssä kunnan, läänin ja kansalisela tasoila. Aiemin pulitiikerit olit lähes täysin välinpitämättömiä paikalisesta kielestä ja identtiteettikysymyksistä. Ruottin valtiopäivät on useaman kerran määritelheet tornionlaaksolaiset "alkuperiäseksi kotimaan kansaksi", mielumin ku kansaliseks minuriteetiks. Silti Ruotti on ilmottanu, esimerkiks, Euruuppan neuvostole ette saamelaiset ja tornionlaaksolaiset on Ruottin kansaliset minuriteetit. Uusi kielipulitiikka on kuitekki kasvamassa ja tornionlaaksolaiset saavat piian Ruottin valtiolta minuriteetti staattuksen. Meän kielen/suomen tulevaisuus riippuu siittä jos net kielet saavat tarpheelista julkista tukea, ja jos niitä alethaan käyttämhään julkisuuessa. Tällainen tuki tulis kehittämhään yhteistyötä poikki raijaa ja parantamhaan kielen staattusta. Seuraus pitäis olla ette innostus oppia suomea/meän kieltä kasvaa.
Avain sanoja: Kielen vaihto, kielen prestiisi, asentheita, kakskielisyys, kielipulitiikka, kotikieli, puolikielisyys, minuriteetti, identiteetti, konteksti-kontekstiton.

FOREWORD

Peter Mühlhäusler
The University of Adelaide

When in 1993 I gave my inaugural lecture at The University of Adelaide on the topic of linguistic diversity, relatively little was known about it and it was certainly a topic far removed from the mainstream of linguistics and sociolinguistics. If it was considered at all, its perceived disadvantages were focused on, among them a condition labelled "semilingualism", on which the author of this book has much to say. Five years later, the literature on linguistic diversity, minority languages, language revival and related topics has grown into a mainstream concern for linguistics, ironically at a time when the loss of a very large number of languages appears very difficult to arrest.

It was Sapir who in one of his many brilliant essays on language (1985b:90) noted the discrepancy between what happened in the world out there and what happened in human discourse:

> According to this classification of environmental influences, we may expect to find two sets of environmental factors reflected in language, assuming for the moment that language is materially influenced by the environmental background of its speakers. Properly speaking, of course, the physical environmental is reflected in language only in so far as it has been influenced by social factors. The mere existence, for instance, of a certain type of animal in the physical environmental of a people does not suffice to give rise to a linguistic symbol referring to it. It is necessary that the animal be known by the members of the group in common and that they have some interest, however slight, in it before the language of the community is called upon to make reference to this particular element of the physical environment. In other words, so far as language is concerned, all environmental influence reduces at last analysis to the influence of social environment.

Likewise, though it was rarely written about until very recently, it cannot be denied that the actual decline of linguistic diversity is not a recent phenomenon. It can be traced back to the setting up of European nations states, the establishment of their colonies overseas and within the boundaries of their nation state, and to the ideology that political and linguistic boundaries have to coincide. Sapir (1985a, originally 1930:30) noted this:

> In earlier times there seems to have been little systematic attempt to impose the language of a conquering people on the subject people, although it happened frequently as a result of the processes

> implicit in the spread of culture that such a conqueror's language was gradually taken over by the dispossessed population. Witness the spread of the Romance languages and of the modern Arabic dialects. On the other hand, it seems to have happened about as frequently that the conquering group was culturally and linguistically absorbed and that their own language disappeared without necessary danger to their privileged status. Thus foreign dynasties in China have always submitted to the superior culture of the Chinese and have taken on their language. In the same way the Moslem Moguls of India, while true to their religion, made one of the Hindu vernaculars the basis of the great literary language of Moslem India, Hindustani. Definitely repressive attitudes toward the languages and dialects of subject peoples seem to be distinctive only of European political policy in comparatively recent times. The attempt of czarist Russia to stamp out Polish by forbidding its teaching in the schools and the similarly repressive policy of contemporary Italy in its attempt to wipe out German from the territory recently acquired from Austria are illuminating examples of the heightened emphasis on language as a symbol of political allegiance in the modern world.

Linguistic diversity between the eighteenth century and the recent past (and in some places still) was regarded virtually as a curse, a nuisance, a reflection of disorganized or divided societies, or an economic disadvantage. Around the world assimilation policies were put in place aimed at eliminating minority languages and minority cultures. The means employed to achieve this bear close similarity around the globe: education in the official language only, legislation against the public use of minority languages and, last but not least, ignoring the existence of the minority languages.

The history of Tornedalen Finnish contains elements of all these factors but it is the last of them that I wish to discuss in more detail.

Language preservation, like the preservation of animals and plants, has focused on a relatively small number of "charismatic" cases (the noble languages of the "noble savages", for instance) but has completely ignored others. The principal criteria appear to be whether we are dealing with ways of speaking that have a distinct name and that are classified as languages. There are many unnamed forms of speaking and many named ones that are called "mere dialect, patois, pidgin, cant" or whatever, which enjoy no protection from anybody and whose fate remains of little interest to the linguistic profession.

The central theme of this book is that attitudes bring into being collective identity, and it is attitudes too which determine whether ways of speaking are dignified with the label "language".

Linguists for a long time have assumed that languages are entities that have an objective existence and that can be discovered by applying objective procedures. But the history of the Scandinavian Language Ecology (a term coined by Haugen, a famous scholar of Scandinavian

languages, in his 1972b paper) clearly demonstrates that this is not so. The question of how many languages are spoken in the four principal Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland) cannot be answered other than quite arbitrarily. The term "languages" refers to a range of phenomena including national languages such as Swedish and Danish, the more problematic two Norwegians (which are not dialects of the same language), Finnish and maybe Tornedalen Finnish, to which we need to add one or more languages referred to by the single label "Sami". All of these languages are to a greater or lesser extent cultural artefacts, the product of political decisions, deliberate language planning and institutionalized linguistic practices. They were brought into being by an "act of identity" (which in the case of the Germanic languages of Scandinavia has typically meant affirming one's difference from Danish) and thus are linguistically quite different from a remnant indigenous minority language such as Sami. But for acts of identity to result in a recognized language they need to be accompanied by acts of power — minimally the power to draw boundaries around language areas and the power to give ways of speaking a language name. Having clear boundaries and a name is more important today than it was in the past. The prize in the last decade of the twentieth century is qualifying for subsidies from the EU (which both Finland and Sweden joined in 1995) for having qualified as "a lesser spoken language".

The history of Tornedalen Finnish illustrates some of the difficulties in becoming recognized as a language, and the author shows how it was regarded variously as a "dialect of Finnish", "a vernacular" a "corrupt mixture of Swedish and Finnish", an "immigrant language", an "indigenous language" or simply "language" or "dialect". Such repeated relabelling, of course, was not paralleled by great changes in its linguistic nature, but had quite significant consequences for its official status, for speaker attitudes, and for its viability. Winsa's account illustrates the consequence of such terminological confusion. Schizoglossia, another Scandinavian phenomenon identified by Haugen (1972a), refers to the condition of not knowing what language one is speaking, should speak, or should pass on to one's children. Schizoglossia of the more serious type can prevent the formation of collective identity.

I would like to return to Haugen's language ecology metaphor as it offers a very accessible framework for interpreting the situation described in this book.

One can conceive of areas such as the Torne Valley as a dynamically changing ecology, inhabited by a number of groups each with their own ways of speaking (in our case the Finns, Sami and Swedes) interacting with one another and interacting with their natural and cultural environment. The viability of an ecology is determined not so much by the number of its inhabitants as by the number of functioning interconnections. In our case the interrelationship between

the three languages is manifested by a large amount of borrowing. The interrelationship between the speakers and their physical environment has resulted in lexical specialization in areas such as mining and reindeer breeding, the intensity of the relationship between language and environment being a matter of time depth. It is found in its most developed form in the language of the region's original indigenous inhabitants, the Sami, and least developed with speakers of modern Standard Swedish and migrants from southern and eastern Europe. With all the languages, however, the links between language and natural environment and cultural past have weakened, as Winsa documents in detail. Moreover the ecological links between the languages have changed from equitable and complementary coexistence (manifested in borrowing in both directions between Sami and Tornedalen Finnish, for instance) to hierarchical and competitive relationships. Swedish has become the dominant source for lexical expansion and both in the speakers' minds and in the laws of the land, the dominant status of Swedish is undisputed. There are, however, problems with the relative position of Tornedalen Finnish and Sami. The latter has been given considerable status in recent years in the wake of the worldwide reassessment of indigenous languages and by political developments in Sweden and neighbouring states which have raised the status of Sami. That the number of fully competent Sami speakers has not increased as a consequence and that the future of this language remains in doubt is generally admitted.

Tornedalen Finnish by comparison has gained much less status and its close proximity to neighbouring Standard Finnish has helped to emphasize its non-standard (and hence perceived sub-standard) nature. There a number of comparable cases it would be useful to look at, including Alsatian Alemannic (Vassberg 1993), Bavarian German in Italy (Wurzer 1969), and Québec French (Bourhis and Giles 1977), but the phenomenon is not restricted to Europe. Non-standard varieties of powerful languages continue to decline world wide. Languages of Fiji other than the standard variety based on Bau have lost much of their independence, status and viability over the last hundred years; Standard Swahili has weakened the many non-standard varieties spoken in east and central Africa; and Standard Indonesian and Malaysian have made inroads into formally important other varieties of the Malay language.

What we are witnessing in this instance is the redefinition of what it means to be a language and the imposition around the globe of a new concept of standard national language. Prior to the advent of modern nation states, there were a large number of language continua or language networks covering large areas: a Germanic language continuum stretching from the north of Scandinavia to the north of Italy; a language continuum covering large areas of west Africa; or a more complex language network in New Caledonia or Vanuatu. Characteristic of such continua/networks was a cline of intelligibility ranging from full

intelligibility in adjacent varieties and decreasing intelligibility as the distance between varieties increased. Characteristic also was the asymmetry between productive and receptive competence. Speakers of each variety used a restricted number of forms from neighbouring varieties whilst understanding a very much larger number of forms. They had what some linguists call an exo- and an endolexicon

It would appear that the various Tornedalen forms of speaking were part of a Finnish continuum. The function of such a continuum depended on movement and communication between the varieties, something which became severely curtailed once the idea of the nation state and natural boundaries became common. Varieties at the end of the continuum, such as Germanic varieties in Italy or Finnish in northern Sweden, were as it were chopped off. There are two other processes bound up with modern languages that complemented these effects — called Ausbau ('extension') and Abstand ('distance') (Kloss 1977). Ausbau refers to the process of making a standard variety comparable in expressive power and modernity to large national languages such as French, German or English. Abstand designates the introduction of differences such as the ones currently encouraged by Serbs and Croats in an attempt to obliterate the single "Serbo-Croatian" language. Standard Finnish subsequent to the establishment of the Finnish state underwent numerous deliberate acts of corpus planning. It received a standard orthography, a modern lexicon and a standard grammar — as indeed did Standard Swedish and Standard Norwegian. Tornedalen Finnish was excluded from this Ausbau process and unlike varieties of Finnish spoken within Finland was also excluded from the possibility of borrowing from Standard Finnish. The consequences were a considerable reduction of the possible sources of internal growth and reduced opportunity of regeneration by borrowing from other varieties, as well as reduced access to a modern standard variety. Over the years dependency on the lexical structure of other languages became inevitable. Winsa demonstrates the very considerable impact of the Swedish lexicon on Tornedalen Finnish as well as mixing and code switching, often caused by the functional and domain shrinkage of this variety. The social consequences were the realization of language users that their variety no longer suited the communicative demands of those who wished to take part in the benefits of a modern society. Their negative views and their willingness to abandon the language have been characterized by economic rationalists as speakers making deliberate rational choices (for a critique see Tollefson 1992) but, as one can see from Winsa's portrayal of the social history of the area, to call such choices "free" would miss the point. The imposition and status raising of Swedish is an act of power, of quite deliberate cultural colonisation. The ways to make the Tornedalians speak Swedish were often anything but subtle: ridiculing, punishing children ignorant of speaking Swedish, excluding children from their home background, and restrictive legislation.

There was at no time a desire to preserve or enhance a multilingual society. Until the very recent past language planning was a process of streamlining and monoculturalism. Much of this process during this century was condoned, supplemented and accelerated by professional linguists and applied linguists trained in modern structuralist linguistics. Linguistic structuralism has been praised for its rigour, for having elevated the discipline to a science, and for having revealed the systematic character of human communication systems by eliminating distracting aspects from the wider picture such as individual and social variation, change over time, and bi- and multilingualism. But such alleged virtues have had certain devastating effects on ways of speaking such a those of the Tornedalians.

Most serious is the lack of any attention to history in twentieth ce...ury linguistics. Linguists did not study the processes and forces that give rise to the linguistic picture of an area but focused on atemporal, synchronic systems. Standard languages unsurprisingly conform most closely to the view that linguists have about language systems. Ignoring the fact that the systematic character of languages such as Standard Swedish or Standard Finnish is the product of deliberate cultural processes, they ended up calling such languages "natural languages".

Mistaking the product of cultural contingencies for nature is the essence of any ideology. From the point of such an ideology it is only a small step to labelling non-conforming ways of speaking as unnatural — pidgins for instance have been labelled as such, and the analysis presented here illustrates discourses that relegate Tornedalen Finnish to the same category. As mentioned earlier, speaking neither Standard Finnish or Standard Swedish was taken for the unhealthy condition of semilingualism. This phenomenon was first described by Bloomfield (1927) in the context of the decline of traditional and American Indian languages and later taken up by applied linguists mainly in Scandinavia (see Romaine and Martin-Jones 1985 for a discussion) to justify the promotion of monolingualism in the official language. It is based on the assumption that the human brain has a limited storage capacity (equivalent to about one full language) and that it was consequently impossible to be proficient in two or more languages. This view has little or no psycholinguistic support other than dubious tests carried out in a socio-historical vacuum. Moreover, such tests confuse cause and effect by making bilingualism responsible for poverty, social deprivation and educational underachievement. An ecological approach would interpret the findings of such bilingualism specialists very differently. The environmental conditions created by the colonizing power (in our case the Swedes) were inadequate for any language other than the state imposed language to thrive. The economic and social status of monolingual Tornedalen Finnish or Sami was hardly superior to that of so called "semilinguals". A structuralist cure was the promotion of monolingualism through a number of policies including transitional

bilingualism (early mother tongue education leading to proficiency in the official language only). The aim of an ecological approach would be very different. The first priority is to establish social and environmental support systems needed to sustain the wellbeing of all the languages and language varieties spoken in the area. That complex multilingualism is sustainable can hardly be doubted. Societies in which two, three or more languages coexisted in the repertoire of all members were the norm before the advent of state sponsored monolingualism. Traditional Australia and Melanesia also provide numerous examples (see Laycock 1979 and Sankoff 1977). What makes complex multilingualism possible in those parts of the world of course might be very different from what would make multilingualism sustainable in the Torne Valley. This point deserves some elaboration as recent attempts to strengthen Tornedalen Finnish would seem to ignore the fact that language ecologies can differ widely.

Winsa's account of the recent rethinking of the situation illustrates current post-structuralist thought on language preservation and empowerment theory. What has empowered languages such as Swedish (standard literature, a writing system, laws governing official status, modern media) is regarded as capable of empowering any language — in actual fact it is yet another illustration of how powerful standard languages have become the norm against which all other ways of speaking are measured.

What Sapir recognized is a problem and an inadequate solution. His own solution, the promotion of international languages, however, would not seem to be a more adequate solution. My own ecological interpretation is the following:

The wellbeing of a language ecology is measured in terms of a number of functional interrelations between its members/ inhabitants/component parts, not by the number of it inhabitants, their average strength or the strength of individual components. The various measures that have been introduced to improve the official status and the functional range of Tornedalen Finnish appear to have had relatively little impact, if the ample statistics given by the author are indeed representative.

Are there reasons for being optimistic nevertheless? I believe there are. Improving any condition depends on asking the right questions and employing correct methodology. Unlike his structuralist predecessors, Winsa is very much aware of the temporality and the dynamics of change. His use of generally longitudinal data makes it possible to diagnose problems and trends. Different from structuralism also is the recognition given to wider ecological changes and the inseparability of Tornedalen Finnish from its socio-historical context. The importance of a dynamic and integrated approach to questions of language change (particularly pathological change) cannot be overemphasized, as the effects of past changes can be removed several generations from their

causes. The ambivalent or negative feelings many Tornedalians continue to have towards their ways of speaking may have their roots in policies and events in their early lifetime: having been shamed for not speaking Standard Swedish, having been taught that their language was worthless, and having experienced the economic deprivation of those who could speak nothing but Tornedalen Finnish. Many of those in power today were indoctrinated with the ideology of assimilation, and sudden policy changes and new educational practices may have very little effect on them. This phenomenon of course is widespread. The continued low status of Australian Aboriginal languages in many parts of the Aboriginal community and the negative attitudes large portions of the Aboriginal community have towards non-traditional varieties such as Koines and young people's languages (often heavily influenced by English) demonstrate the afterlife of past ideology. The state of many "marginal" forms of speech may well continue to decline before it gets better. However, by the same token the effects of more understanding and positive policies are likely to be felt more strongly in years to come when those who have learnt to have positive feelings about non-standard forms of speech grow up and become leaders and decision makers.

The institution of the nation state is one of the prime reasons for the decline of linguistic diversity — and the weakening of this institution is a positive sign. The current emphasis on cultural regions and the support given by the EU to the languages of the new regions give hope and optimism. However, there must be clear advantages for the speakers of minority languages for keeping them next to the official languages of a region, bi- and multicultural role models for children to emulate, and a degree of disempowerment of powerful state languages. The weakening of the idea of the nation state needs to be accompanied by a weakening of the concept of national culture, national language and nationality. Disempowerment means the redistribution of power and resources, a solution that would seem cheaper and more sustainable than giving more power and resources to the powerless in the hope that they will somehow catch up with the powerful. What needs to be empowered is interrelationships between individual members of an ecology.

This takes me back to what I wrote earlier in this paper when I argued that terms such as "language" are much too imprecise to do justice to the many ways in which human communication patterns can differ. To me it seems essential to treat Tornedalen Finnish as a unique manifestation of a unique situation rather than lump it together with migrant languages, as appears to be happening. It is true that the linguistic rights of immigrant minorities have been a trigger for changing policies and cultural attitudes towards multilingualism. This can be observed in many places, for instance in the case of language rights of Spanish speaking minorities in the USA which has raised the issue of American Indian languages. Similarly the renewed recognition of Aboriginal languages in Australia occurred after better conditions for

migrant languages were obtained. However, what recognition is given to migrant languages typically is recognition for standard national languages. The enhanced role of Italian in Australian education, broadcasting and public life is recognition for Standard Italian, not the many non-standard varieties actually spoken by the migrants. I would like to argue that recognizing Standard Finnish as a language of the Torne Valley is not necessarily what is needed to preserve local variants of non-standard Finnish. The bigger issue is how to preserve dialectal diversity. In my view such strengthening can be achieved best by leaving the language alone whilst enhancing the ecological conditions in which dialectal diversity can thrive. This might mean not going down the road of creating a language compatible in expressive power, standardisation and public status to Standard Finnish and Standard Swedish, tempting as it may seem. It will also not mean isolating Tornedalen Finnish from external influences. Ecologies are viable because of interconnections, and isolation would seem to be one of the reasons why languages have become less viable. Instead of isolation one should look for models of how it is possible for many languages (very small, medium sized and large) to coexist over long periods of time, for instance in traditional societies such as the Prince Charlotte Bay area of Northern Australia (Sutton 1991), and of how such continued diversity is compatible with modernization in societies such as Vanuatu. The decision to have a three tier system in Vanuatu (official languages French and English; national language symbolizing Vanuatu, Bislama; and village languages; with only the first two, French and English, having a written form and being used for education purposes) appears to have helped strengthen the ecology of this highly multilingual country.

One might think of a region of the EU with two official languages (Swedish and Finnish), a national language (Sami), and local languages comprising Tornedalen Finnish varieties and non-standard Swedishes. But the influx of migrants from other areas, industrialization and social mobility may require a more complex solution.

In this final section I would like to address the question of why anyone should bother at all to preserve non-standard forms of speech in small economically underdeveloped parts of Europe. I shall refrain from going into detail as some excellent arguments can be found in Fishman (1991) who makes a strong case for the rationality of the arguments for cultural and linguistic diversity and exposes the seeming rationality of monoculturalism. In simple terms one can argue the case for Tornedalen Finnish in three ways: as a scientific, a moral and an economic issue.

Bilingualism in the ideology of past experts is the cause of a lower IQ and underachievement. Leaving aside the problematic design aspect of IQ tests (which have prompted some to refer to them as Culture Related Ability Products or the acronym thereof), the conclusions are based on a very rudimentary understanding of the complex interrelationships between the components of a speech ecology. Given the long history of

suppression and attempted linguicide it is hardly surprising that the communicative abilities of the Torne Valley Finns could not be realized in full. Low IQ in the situation reflects misguided educational and social practices, not biological factors. In fact, tests with bilinguals from communities where bilingualism is accepted and enhanced demonstrate a very different picture. Top grades in quasi-monolingual countries such as Britain and Australia are disproportionately frequent among bilinguals such as British Pakistanis and Chinese Australians. One reason for this is that different languages use slightly different areas of the brain. Bilinguals not only use areas that are atrophied in monolinguals but also are helped by the fact that bilingualism facilitates interconnection between parts of the brain that are not interconnected in monolinguals. One can conclude that there are excellent scientific reasons for encouraging speakers to speak as many and preferably typological different languages as possible. The typological distance between Swedish, Sami and Finnish would seem to offer particularly interesting possibilities.

The moral arguments have been discussed in much detail in the contributions by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson: the right to use one's language, to be educated in one's language, and not to be discriminated against for one's language, and so on. The right not to be cut off from one's cultural and linguistic past is another moral reason.

But what about economic arguments? To some extent this depends on the economic model one relies on. Streamlining a linguistic ecology by eliminating diversity can have short term benefits but may bring with it very considerable long term diseconomies. These include reduced quality of life, social problems, loss of knowledge, and others which are difficult to capture with conventional quantitative methods. Generally speaking, the suppression of functional multilingualism has meant that the human potential of the area has been underutilized.

The story of Tornedalen Finnish is not an isolated event in a relatively remote part of the world but part of a global pattern of change in the world's linguistic ecology. It is connected to a number of local and global parameters and its lessons are of relevance to the practical dimension of many other situations as well as to refining ecological theories of language change.

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CHAPTER 1

FROM TORNEDALEN FINNISH TO MEÄNKIELI 'OUR LANGUAGE'

Aims of the project

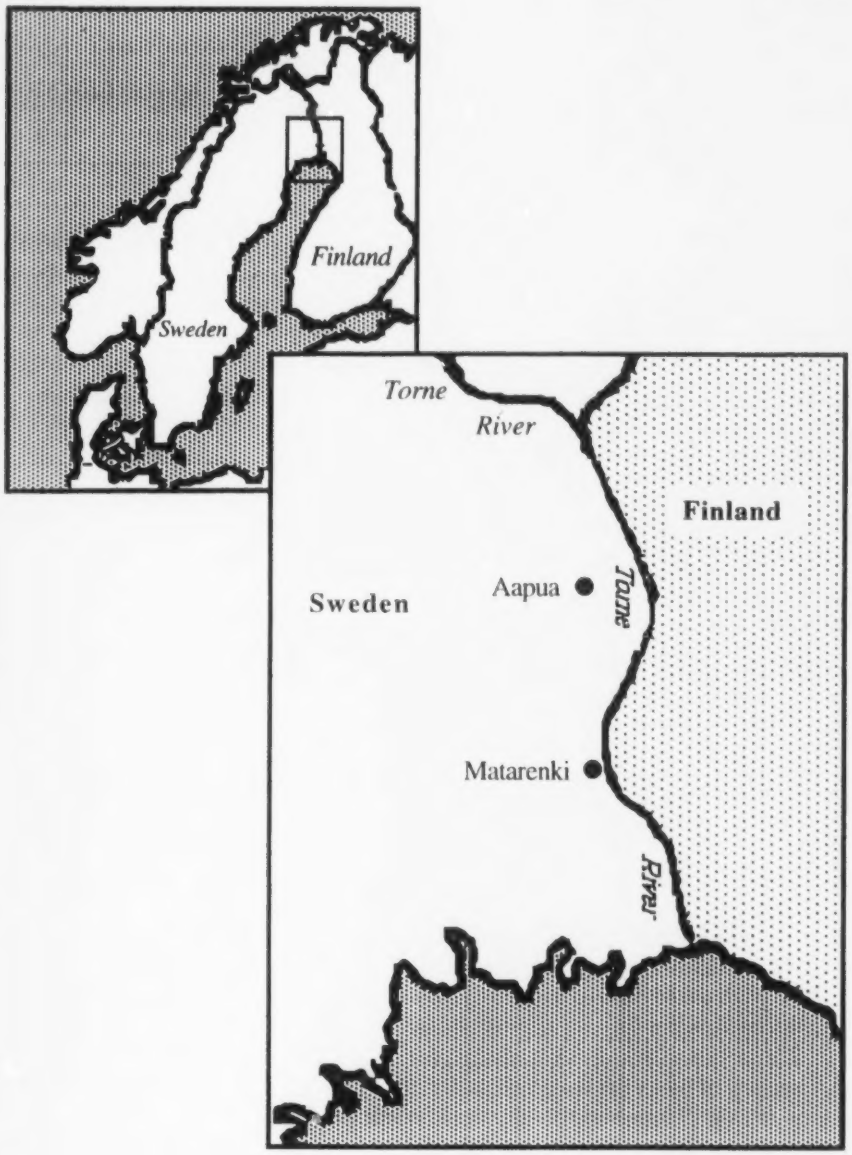
The aim of the project of which the present study forms a part is to study the Finnish spoken in the Swedish Torne Valley and its use and development in the 1960s and the 1990s. More precisely, its aim is to study the Finnish spoken within different generations and how it differs now from the Finnish spoken in the same area in the early 1960s, when another study of the Swedish Torne Valley was conducted. Furthermore, the project seeks to establish which people speak Finnish in the Swedish Torne Valley today, in what contexts, how the use of Finnish has changed, and how linguistic attitudes have shifted since the 1960s.

The investigation is both linguistic and sociolinguistic. It is also both synchronic and diachronic. It studies the same linguistic community from linguistic as well as sociolinguistic standpoints at two different times, separated by about one generation. To our knowledge, no similar investigation has been carried out before; for example, Trudgill 1988 is more restricted in his approach (cf., however, Thibault and Vincent 1990). A total of 20 of the informants from the 1960s study were included in this study. Thus the new project uses part of the more extensive body of data from 1966 as a basis for comparison.

The purpose of the sociolinguistic part of the study is to investigate attitudes towards the Finnish spoken in the Swedish Torne Valley, and its use in different settings. The study has examined in which groups and in what domains Tornedalen Finnish is spoken — gender, age groups, occupational differences, etc.

During the 1960s a broad-based sociolinguistic investigation was carried out on bilingualism and the language situation as a whole in the Torne Valley (Jaakkola 1973; Loman 1974). That study was part of an extensive, multi-perspective investigation performed under the guidance of Professors Asko Vilkuna and Elina Haavio-Mannila in Finland. The sociolinguistic and linguistic material from 1966 is therefore broad and extensive. With these data as a starting point it is possible to describe two sociological cross-sections of time for one and the same population, within a time span of one generation. The data and results of these projects — especially Jaakkola 1973 — are therefore an important basis for comparison for this project, which was started in 1991 by Professor Heikki Paunonen, of the Department of Finnish at Tampere University in Finland, and Professor Erling Wande, of the Department of Finnish at Stockholm University.

The data for this new investigation were collected in the same area and the same villages as in the 1960s study, i.e. the municipality of Övertorneå, and more specifically in the villages of Matarenki and Aapua. Matarenki is a community with more than 1000 inhabitants; usually called Övertorneå, it is called Matarenki, its original name, here to distinguish the village from the municipality of the same name. Aapua is a smaller village with fewer than 200 people, some 70 km from Matarenki; see Map 1.



Map 1: The Torne valley

The study is closely linked in its aims and methods to several ongoing or completed linguistic and sociolinguistic projects in northern Sweden, Norway and Finland. Methodologically it is closely related to two other studies conducted in the 1970s. One is about language shift among the Sami (Lapps) in northern Finland (Aikio 1988). Aikio's study is part of a larger project whose theme concerns changes within Sami culture and the possibility of preserving this culture. The other project related to the present one was concerned with mapping the linguistic situation of the Kvens (Lindgren 1990), starting in 1983, studying an old variety of Finnish spoken in northern Norway. It was carried out in three villages in northern Norway, and consisted of three separate parts: one linguistic, one sociolinguistic, and one ethnolinguistic. Professor Heikki Paunonen was in charge of the project, and the researchers involved were Marjut Aikio and Anna-Riitta Lindgren from Tromsø University. Both these diachronic and synchronic investigations mapped language change from both group and individual perspectives. This has been central to the present study as well.

Among theoretical foundations of this study we can include more general studies on bilingualism and language contact. This category includes works such as Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1969), as well as a number of more recent studies such as Appel and Muyskens (1987); Clyne (1985); Pauwels (1987) and Romaine (1989). As regards relevant language shift studies, Dorian (1987), Gal (1979) and (1987), and Tandefelt (1988), for example, are of some interest. In addition, some studies of Finnish have been carried out in the United States (e.g. Martin 1989).

A linguistic and sociolinguistic study in the 1990s

The project consists of two distinct parts: one linguistic and the other sociolinguistic. Both parts are based on two comparable sets of data, one collected in Övertorneå in 1966 and the other collected in the same municipality in 1991–92. The sociological survey from the 1966 study involved more than 300 informants in all, while the tape recordings of the dialect included 60 half-hour interviews. Thus the data, collected by Heikki Paunonen, comprised a total of 30 hours of tape recordings (SKNA, the Finnish language archive of tape-recorded dialect material). Of the informants, about 50 per cent were from the central village of Matarenki, and the same proportion from Aapua. The interviewees constituted a representative cross-section of the population (this contrasts with traditional dialect studies). The youngest were 15 years of age at the time for the interview, the oldest 75. The study reported here follows the same principle. Furthermore we were able to interview 20 of the informants from the 1960s. Taina Hollo and Birger Winsa interviewed more than 80 people of different ages. Taina Hollo carried out the fieldwork and transcribed the taped interviews. In all, the material includes 141 interviews, 60 from 1966, and 81 from 1991–92 (SKNA).

A genuine longitudinal linguistic study

Using the above-mentioned synchronic cross-sections we can gain a knowledge of the form of Finnish that was spoken by the inhabitants of Övertorneå in 1966, and of how their Finnish has changed up to the present. Since both sets of informants were selected by the same methods, we can draw conclusions about the linguistic changes that have occurred within one generation, i.e. change at the collective level. Furthermore,

since the synchronic samples consist partly of the same informants, a comparison of the two cross-sections enables changes occurring at the individual level to be analyzed. At the same time the study offers an opportunity to evaluate, for example, the quasi-longitudinal study as a research method. Quasi-longitudinal studies in sociolinguistic studies of variation deduce diachronic change from a single synchronic cross-section, within which a comparison is made between speakers and groups of different ages. The quasi-longitudinal study has, however, been a conceptual and methodological problem, because it is unclear how precisely variations between different age groups reflect changes in real time. In the present study, which is a genuine longitudinal investigation, this problem can be addressed and examined. It is also possible to advance hypotheses on the basis of the 1966 data and to test them against the new data.

It is, moreover, an advantage from other points of view to use Tornedalen Finnish as a basis for the study of linguistic mechanisms of change. The Swedish Torne Valley as a whole is a bilingual region, but on the individual level it is easy to find a language shift from Finnish to monolingual Swedish (cf. Hansegård 1990). One other obvious and important factor influencing linguistic change is degree of literacy. Very few people in the Swedish Torne Valley have fluent literacy in Finnish; it is primarily used as a spoken language. Swedish has for a long period of time been the official written language. In this type of bilingual community and with these basic conditions for language shift, there is a tendency to trigger structural cohesion rules, which in turn can produce a variety of parallel rules based on different analogies; changes which in "normal" settings, i.e. more static linguistic communities, can take centuries to emerge. In this type of community, they can be realized within one generation.[2]

The prime purpose of the linguistic part of the project is thus to investigate to what extent Tornedalen Finnish has, within one generation, undergone change on the individual as well as the group level. When selecting linguistic features we have considered the following: (1) changes in Tornedalen Finnish may be caused by internal development; (2) changes may be due to the influence of Standard Finnish; (3) changes may be due to (a) the influence of Swedish, or (b) bilingualism as such (cf. Beardsmore 1986; Oksaar 1983; Mack 1984; Paradis 1985, 1987). Factors (1) and (3) are the most important, but the influence of Standard Finnish must also be considered.

As regards internal changes within Tornedalen Finnish, special attention will be focused on features which show considerable variation and which for that reason alone may be assumed to indicate an ongoing change. (One such feature is *h*-metathesis, e.g. *saarheen ~ saahreen* 'to the island'.) Regarding the influence of Swedish and bilingualism as such, particular attention is paid to phonological and morphological features. Pronunciation differs greatly among individuals, depending on how much of a "Finn" or "Swede" they are. Similarly the occurrence of morphological analogies increases in relation to how "Swedish" a speaker is. (This tendency is comparable with Kven Finnish, although the generalization tendency does not seem to have developed as far in the Torne Valley — Tornedalen Finnish seems to represent an interesting intermediate form; cf. Airila 1912; Paunonen 1991; Wande 1979, 1988). There are many reasons for assuming that the influence of Swedish and the bilingual situation have resulted in changes over a period of 25 years. The most plausible is that this impact is most clearly noticeable in a comparison with the 1966 sample on a collective level. By contrast it is harder to predict change at the individual level. It is likely that some of the

internal development tendencies of Tornedalen Finnish will have been more clearly manifested during the period studied. What has happened on the individual level will be shown in the detailed linguistic analysis currently being undertaken by Heikki Paunonen at Tampere University.

The sociolinguistic study

The aim of the sociolinguistic part of the project is to map how Tornedalen Finnish is used in different domains and by different people. In addition, it is concerned with attitudes and opinions towards languages and language use. One interesting question, for instance, is how changes in attitudes during the 1980s have influenced Tornedalian identity and linguistic behaviour. As recently as the 1960s, Finnish had low status in the Swedish Torne Valley, and not even Finnish speakers themselves regarded their own language variety as "real Finnish". Since then attitudes have without doubt changed in some groups (see, e.g. Kenttä 1986; Hansegård 1990). A further part of the study is concerned with possible differences in attitudes between inhabitants of the central village, Matarenki, and the smaller village, Aapua.

Magdalena Jaakkola's 1973 sociolinguistic mapping of the Torne Valley can be regarded as a basic primary study. It was carried out in 1966, and many of the informants who provided linguistic data for the present study were included in Jaakkola's much larger group of informants. Another important source of material for comparison is Bengt Loman's study (1974) in which, among other things, the linguistic attitudes of Tornedalians are discussed. Jaakkola's and Loman's investigations provide a good foundation for the present investigation. Thanks to these studies, we can compare the shift in attitudes within the same population and with reference to some of the same informants.

In this study too, linguistic interviews were combined with a sociolinguistic questionnaire survey and interview. The questionnaire was basically the same as the one used in the 1960s. However, some new material was added on the basis of findings from studies of Kvens and Sami.

The purpose of the sociolinguistic study is to investigate individual language use and its possible adaptation to different domains. In addition, the particular domains in which Swedish and Finnish have been used during different periods of time are considered (cf. Aikio 1988). As early as the 1960s it was noticed that the Swedish influence had strengthened. On the other hand, there are still sociolinguistic contexts in which Finnish functions as almost the only official variety, particularly in religious gatherings. The decline of Finnish is reflected in the language choice of the individual.

The growing impact of Swedish has been reflected in differences between the sexes, age groups, occupations, etc. The mechanisms of language shift are more complex than was assumed in the 1960s; differences can occur even within one family.

Language shift is closely linked to attitudes. The earlier negative attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish probably have their roots in the Swedicization policy (e.g. Slunga 1965). With respect to attitudes, changes in cultural activities, e.g. amateur theatre, cultural organizations and discussions of *Meänkieli* 'Our Language', are of particular importance. As regards studies of attitudes in general, we can mention for instance Fa-

sold (1984), Lambert (1972), Giles (1977) and Giles and Powesland (1975). One Swedish study of interest is Cunningham and Engstrand (1988).

The last chapters of this report discuss the consequences of a future monolingual area, and the distinction between context bound and context reduced reasoning.

The implementation of the project

The project has been carried out as joint a Swedish–Finnish venture, with each part conducted by one scholar. The division of labour has been such that Taina Hollo performed the fieldwork and transcribed the recordings, while Professor Heikki Paunonen is responsible for the linguistic analysis. The Swedish scholars Professor Erling Wande and Birger Winsa have been responsible for the sociolinguistic part of the study. Paunonen and Wande have supervised the project. Heikki Paunonen is studying internal variation and changes in Tornedalen Finnish over the period concerned. His interest is focused especially on an analysis of close vowels and plosives (in terms of aspirated/non-aspirated). In addition, he is examining the development of morphological innovations. Birger Winsa has primarily been concerned with the sociolinguistic issues, the functional distribution of Finnish and linguistic attitudes.

As a starting point for the project, Winsa and Hollo collected information about the earlier informants from the 1960s study and ascertained how many still lived in the area. Before the fieldwork was carried out the form of questionnaire to be used was discussed at a seminar attended by sociolinguists from Norway, Finland and Sweden, held in Matarenki in 1990.[3] In addition, Winsa and Hollo transcribed the tapes from the 1960s, with the aim of obtaining background information about the informants, basic explicit linguistic knowledge about Tornedalen Finnish, and reference material for the second linguistic study. Winsa's rough transcription of the 30 hours of interviews amounts to a total of about 425 typed pages. The actual fieldwork was performed by Winsa and Hollo in 1991 in Matarenki and 1992 in Aapua. In each location the fieldwork took about one month, taking place in June and July. The fieldworkers stayed in Matarenki and Aapua and thus built up a close relationship with the local population, especially with the villagers of Aapua.

The taped interviews were between 30 and 45 minutes long. The questionnaire consisted of more than 100 questions, largely the same questions as in the 1960s study (Jaakkola 1969; Appendix 1). Each interview took at least 1.5 hours. In Matarenki five informants from the 1960s study participated in the 1991 interview. In Aapua 15 informants from the 1960s study took part in the 1992 interview. There was a considerable difference in willingness to be interviewed between the central village and the smaller village. In Matarenki the interviewers had much greater difficulty finding people who were willing to agree to an interview; five or ten people refused to be interviewed. In Aapua, on the other hand, all the former informants participated and it was considerably easier to find new informants, with only a few refusing an interview.

To sum up

The aims of the project are:

a) to investigate what linguistic changes have taken place in Tornedalen Finnish between the 1960s and the 1990s;

b) to investigate what changes in linguistic use and attitudes towards languages in the Torne Valley have occurred during this period of time; and

c) on the basis of this genuine longitudinal study, to shed light on the problem of quasi-longitudinal investigations in sociolinguistics.

The project, finally, is of practical value. The 1980s saw growing ethnic and linguistic revitalization in the Torne Valley. This resulted, for example, in the establishment of cultural organizations and in calls for a stronger position for Tornedalen Finnish within different official sectors of the society, e.g. education. The process of revitalization has been partly hampered by the absence of basic knowledge of the language and of linguistic variation in the Torne Valley today. In this respect, the present project can contribute important information.

The informants

During the summers of 1991 and 1992, a total of 81 people were interviewed: 39 from Matarenki, 37 from Aapua, and five from other villages (these are not included in Table 1). Whenever possible, we interviewed the same informants as were interviewed in 1966. Many of these interviewees, 60 in all, were teenagers or middle aged at that time. The aim was to have the same number in each age group. Each person was recorded for at least half an hour, and also answered the questionnaire.

Table 1: Number of informants

Age	Female	Male	Total
13–20	4	1	5
21–30	4	7	11
31–40	9	8	17
41–5Ő	7	10	17
51–60	3	2	5
61–70	7	6	13
71–80	3	2	5
81–89	3	–	3
Total	40	36	76

One criterion for selecting informants was that the new informants should be able to speak Finnish. The other was that as far as possible their parents should have been born in the Swedish Torne Valley, and that they should not have any close relatives in Finland. However, this requirement had to be abandoned in Matarenki, because there

the group who qualified was too small. Instead we asked carefully about each informant's background. Information on informants' parents is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Informants' parents

Informants' parents from:	Matarenki-Övertorneå	Aapua
	%	%
Both parents from the Torne Valley	46	92
Mother from Swedish-speaking area, father from Torne Valley	3	0
Father from Swedish-speaking area, mother from Torne Valley	0	0
Both parents from Swedish-speaking areas	6	0
Mother from Finland, father from Sweden	27	5
Father from Finland, mother from Sweden	5	3
Both parents from Finland	13	0
Total	100%	100%
Number of informants	39	37

Immigration and cross-cultural marriages are frequent, and it makes sense to obtain an overall view of the situation in Matarenki by using informants who in general reflect the mixed population along the Swedish–Finnish border. The typical tendency in cross-cultural marriages is for the woman to have come from Finland. It is also common to marry someone from the Finnish-speaking area of Sweden. The children of cross-cultural marriages are regarded as Swedish Tornedalians. If both parents were born in Finland, the children are mostly not regarded as genuine Swedish Tornedalians. Second or third generation Tornedalians usually distinguish first generation Finnish immigrants from original Tornedalians. Their language and culture also differ to some extent from that of the original Torne Valley inhabitants.

Only three per cent of marriages among the Matarenki informants' parents involved one spouse from a Swedish-speaking area. In addition, Matarenki is subject to more influences from Swedish-speaking areas. Six per cent of marriages in this study included both spouses from a Swedish-speaking area.

In Aapua the situation is more homogeneous. Only eight per cent of informants had one parent from Finland, all the rest having both parents from bilingual areas of Norrbotten. None of the parents were monolingual. The inhabitants of Aapua still tend to a large degree to marry someone from the same village or from a village nearby. The same situation also prevailed in the 1960s (Jaakkola 1969:29). Finnish is thus better preserved in small villages, because of the lack of adults monolingual in Swedish.

During the Second World War and for about a decade afterwards there was some immigration from Finland to Aapua, but this has stopped almost entirely in the last few decades. There is only one man who was born in northern Finland and who settled in Aapua during the 1980s.

The informants selected reflect quite well the heterogeneous linguistic situation in Matarenki and the homogeneous situation in Aapua.

Table 3: Informants' occupations

	1991–92		1966	
	Matarenki	Aapua	Matarenki	Aapua
Student	8	9	18	5
Worker	23	32		
Self-employed	15	3		
Worker + self-employed			30	61
Professional	32	20	32	5
Housewife	2	4		
Pensioner	20	32		
Housewife + pensioner			20	29
Total	39	37		

Table 3 gives informants' occupations. Smaller villages are normally socially more homogeneous. The recent study has an over-representation of professionals (mainly teachers) in Aapua. This is due to the smaller number of informants involved.

Comparison with the 1966 study

Background to the 1966 study

Before the 1950s biased attitudes were common throughout Western society: workers were workers because they had inferior intelligence, and in particular some races were not adaptable to white society. The alleged impoverished language of the working class was merely a reflection of individual and collective inferior qualities. This ideology was one of the consequences of the social Darwinism that influenced public opinion during the late nineteenth century. These attitudes also influenced universities up to the 1940s. Finns, for example, were described by Swedish researchers as late as 1946 as unbalanced, more criminal, stubborn and less successful and intelligent (Beckman 1966:58–9). Consequently interest in studying and understanding minorities in relation to majorities could hardly emerge before the general attitude to minorities had changed. Linguistic attitudes to Standard language and dialects are strongly linked to the general paradigm or ideology of the time. The definition of a dialect in relation to a language did not cause any real problems until the late 1950s. It was commonly assumed that the well educated class spoke a Standard language because of their better intellectual abilities and because the Standard language was more logical and reflected better the presumed underlying abstract linguistic structure. During the late 1950s an increasing interest in indigenous minorities emerged in Western societies. One typical feature of many indigenous and national minorities in general is that they are economically and socially less competitive and successful when compared to the majority culture of the

nation. This had earlier been explained as a characteristic of racial inferiority, but now another perspective was seen to explain their backwardness.

During the 1960s the situation of Afro-Americans and Spanish-speaking groups in southern USA attracted attention, especially the Afro-Americans who started to resist and protest at the general treatment of themselves as a group. Perhaps their determination to change the racial attitudes and discrimination in nearly every aspect of society was the starting point for the minority movement worldwide. In Canada Francophones started to discuss the oppression of the French and the social and economic consequences on Québec society. Sociolinguistics was introduced as a subject, and language minority situations caught the interest of scholars. A number of minorities in Europe started to work for their rights. But it was still a common belief that minorities had an impoverished language or suffered from verbal deprivation, mainly due not to genetic causes but to social conditions (cf. Labov 1974).

Implementation of the 1966 study

During the 1950s and later Tornedalians did not regard themselves as a minority: they were Swedish citizens who spoke Finnish. Long before Tornedalians had heard of minority rights and status the movement reached the universities in the Nordic countries.

One person whose influence spread knowledge of the situation in the Torne Valley was Nils-Erik Hansegård, who coined the term "semilingualism" in the late 1950s when he defined the linguistic competence of the Tornedalians. He claimed that they could not master either of their languages, Tornedalen Finnish and Swedish, and that they were forced to use both languages in order to speak. The term is also used in a number of other ways but is often associated with defective ability to think, reason and speak, i.e. it is a cognitive deficit. Another interpretation is that Tornedalians are semilinguals because they cannot speak and think properly outside their own area — that they have defective language competence in Finland and in monolingual areas in Sweden, but have full mastery of the languages in the bilingual area where they are allowed to mix both languages.

The linguistic situation in the Torne Valley had been a subject of discussion in Finland since the late nineteenth century. Researchers and official representatives of Finland accused Sweden of having an oppressive language policy in the Torne Valley. This has been a minor conflict in relations between the two countries.

This policy of Swedicization was initiated in 1888 when state schools were required to instruct in Swedish, while Finnish was abandoned. The Swedish state wanted to establish a cultural border along the national border between Sweden and Finland. The area, which has mineral resources as well as rivers and forests, was politically sensitive, and politicians feared that maintenance of Finnish could cause ethnic conflicts and that the Swedish Tornedalians might seek integration with Finland. Sweden maintained that the language policy would promote bilingualism, but in reality it included nationalistic and political aspects. Swedicization of the Swedish Tornedalians was in fact the underlying but not explicitly stated ideology.

The long history of discriminatory linguistic policy formed the historical background for Jaakkola's study, in which her superiors planned to investigate the whole situation in the Swedish Torne Valley and compare it with the Finnish Torne Valley.

The study examined the ways linguistic policy was reflected and how it had influenced the everyday life of the Tornedalians. The aim was thus broad: to gain a picture of the minority as a whole. The work engaged several scholars from Sweden and Finland: ethnologists, sociologists, linguists and geographers. The sociological project in Finland started in 1964 and resulted in five reports: Jaakkola (1969), Lehtisalo (1967), Suolinna (1969), Haavio-Mannila (1969) and Haavio-Mannila et al. (1967).

Elina Haavio-Mannila was the supervisor of the project of which Jaakkola's study was one part. Haavio-Mannila's team interviewed every sixth person in Övertorneå. In all 415 people were asked, but only 84 per cent or 347 people agreed to an interview. On the Finnish side 480 people were asked and 85 per cent or 406 people agreed to an interview (Jaakkola 1969:25). In Matarenki 87 per cent of the interviews were carried out in Swedish, although few regarded themselves as monolinguals. In Aapua, on the other hand, 100 per cent of the interviews were conducted in Finnish.

One reason for the high percentage of interviews in Swedish is probably that the majority of the interviewers (16 of 21) were from Finland and thus did not speak the Finnish variety used by the informants. Only two of the interviewers were from the Swedish Torne Valley. The Tornedalians probably felt themselves in a subordinate position with their allegedly incorrect Finnish. Another reason is the feeling of inferiority when speaking Finnish in a formal setting in which it is usual to speak Swedish. The inhabitants of Matarenki were more sensitive to prestige features in a formal setting and thus rejected an interview in Finnish, although a higher percentage could without doubt speak Finnish as well as the people in Aapua. This has partly influenced the results, due to the fact that the Tornedalians had developed metalinguistic awareness in Swedish and could thus reason better at an analytical level, which improved the responses to many questions. On the other hand, Swedish could be a burden in parts of the test of alleged semilingualism where linguistic associations were important. Jaakkola carried out a test with synonyms, words and a translation test to find out if the Tornedalians really were bilinguals (Jaakkola 1969).

Results: a study of bilingual and monolingual cultures

The conclusions from Jaakkola's work are impressive and far reaching. Besides the emerging dominance of Swedish, hardly any positive effect of the assimilation policy could be traced. On the other hand a great number of negative effects could be shown in a number of fields: Tornedalians were alleged to have impoverished language competence in both languages, they were less competitive, bilinguals had a lower social status than monolinguals in Swedish, they were less ambitious than monolinguals, Tornedalians had less courage about speaking in public and in formal situations, etc.

Jaakkola came to the conclusion that the Tornedalians were to a great extent semilinguals as a consequence of the language policy of the Swedish government. In the test which would identify semilinguals, the informants (who were speakers of Tornedalen Finnish, not Standard Finnish) were asked to define seven Standard Finnish words that they mainly had never heard. In addition, when the Tornedalians performed a translation test — with 12 words in Swedish and Finnish — the self assessed bilinguals succeeded best and confirmed their own judgement of their bilingual proficiency (Jaakkola 1969:162). Jaakkola does not accept that fact but explains that it was hard even for

them, yet she had nothing else to compare them with other than those who assessed themselves as being better in Swedish or Finnish (Jaakkola 1973:93). The results were based on the assumption that Finns in Finland who were educated in both languages would succeed better. The researcher could conclude from this — and other similar tests — that Tornedalians were to a great extent semilinguals (Jaakkola 1973:91ff.). Those who had lowest scores in the Finnish and Swedish synonym test belonged to the group who had acquired both languages at home, while those who had only Finnish or only Swedish at home knew most synonyms in the language they knew best (Jaakkola 1973:91).

One of Jaakkola's references for the test on assumed semilingualism was Finns living in Finland. They knew more Standard Finnish synonyms than the Swedish Tornedalians did. The Swedish Tornedalians' knowledge of the Swedish synonyms corresponded to their degree of education, but vice versa in the Finnish synonym test — naturally, because few had studied Finnish and education only in Swedish causes a loss of Finnish vocabulary. The conclusion was that education produces more knowledge of synonyms. What other alternative could be expected? Another factor is that Tornedalen Finnish is not used as a written language, whereas Swedish is learned in school, which leads to greater metalinguistic awareness and the ability to focus on language forms. This favours Swedish in formal testing.

During the 1960s — and to a certain extent even now — competence in Finnish corresponded negatively with level of education. With increasing education, mastery of Finnish decreased. Jaakkola's study partly neglected the importance of the informants' parents' background and did not discuss this explicitly. On the other hand she used the informants' national background as evidence for supposed semilingualism among less educated Tornedalians (Jaakkola 1973:90ff.). Undoubtedly Finnish immigrants living in the Torne Valley are mainly from the working class, and consequently their children follow the same social pattern and also become workers. We can thus expect that more workers will speak Finnish than Swedish, and not only because Finnish is associated with agriculture, fishing and hunting. Besides, because it is harder for a Swedish monolingual to meet a Finnish girl, cross-marriages promote bilingualism.

Such tests do not measure any supposed semilingualism, but more the wish of the researchers to confirm their own prejudices.

The researchers did not consider the fact that in bilingual societies competence in the two languages is manifested in different domains. They decided instead that people who master two languages must be equally good in all domains, otherwise they are semilingual.

The results indicate that informants probably overestimated their language competence as bilinguals more than a more objective assessment of bilingualism would have done, however it might have been measured. Those who claimed they were bilinguals did so not because they had an theoretical ideal mastery in each language, but because in practical situations they had found they had sufficient competence in both languages to regard themselves as bilingual. In real life their competence was in harmony with their practical need. Consequently the assumption on which the investigation was based was wrong and not the individual's self estimated linguistic competence.

What would the result have been if the researchers had been tested for Finnish competence by giving them Tornedalen Finnish synonyms for their Standard Finnish? It

would probably not have led to the conclusion that they lacked linguistic competence: knowledge or lack of knowledge of Tornedalen Finnish words would be only a curiosity, because these words have little significance outside the area.

Jaakkola stated further that a typical diglossic use of the languages had been established in the Finnish-speaking area, mainly due to the Swedicization policy which had the effect of forcing Finnish to be an oral language. Competence in reading and writing Finnish was meagre. Very few felt that the oral variety, Tornedalen Finnish, was a real language. Real Finnish was spoken in Finland.

Swedish, on the other hand, was mastered at all levels by almost everyone, although some of the oldest age groups had weak proficiency in Swedish and could almost be labelled as monolinguals in Finnish. Swedish was used as the context free analytical language in nearly every official and public domain, whereas Finnish was for the most part the context bound practical language, strongly linked to traditional occupations. However, Finnish was losing many of its functions as a complete oral language, due to the growing number of Swedish loan words. This mixing of oral Finnish was defined by Jaakkola as a characteristic of semilingualism. Swedish on the other hand was mastered properly — very few Finnish loans occurred in their Swedish — but was not fluent and was meagre in vocabulary. The lack of education in Finnish had caused the alleged tragic situation in which the Tornedalians did not master any language properly. This alleged semilingualism reinforced the tendency to remain within the bilingual community and weakened their competitive ability.

Swedish Tornedalians read and wrote much less than comparable groups on the Finnish side. It was culturally an impoverished area with few authors and artists.

Proficiency in Finnish reflected gender differences. Females acquired Swedish faster and had weaker competence in Finnish. One reason for this better proficiency was that females could deny their actual competence in Finnish and overestimate their Swedish competence. On the other hand it was obvious that females used more Swedish.

The size of the village also predicted competence in Finnish. In the larger village, Matarenki, which has more clearly defined social stratification, the better educated spoke more and better Swedish, and this influenced the linguistic behaviour of other local people. Swedish thus had higher prestige than Finnish.

A clear hierarchical categorisation of linguistic groups existed in the 1960s. Monolinguals in Swedish possessed the highest prestige, followed by bilinguals, and the lowest position was held by monolingual Finns. The frequent cross-marriages had a clear predominance of females from Finland who replaced the Tornedalian females who moved from the area. The imbalance in sexes was thus partly redressed with girls from Finland.

Bilingual families were more religious, had more children, were more likely to be unemployed, were less educated, more resistant to change and in general more indifferent and passive. The strong religious allegiance among bilinguals was explained as compensating for the strong social oppression they suffered: the next life would be more comfortable. Laestadianism, a religious movement in the northern parts of Sweden, Norway and Finland, had been one important factor in preserving the language, and was the only domain where Finnish was one of the official languages. Finnish in the Swedish Torne Valley was strongly influenced by religion, had a high percentage of Swedish loan words, little influence from Standard Finnish and a number of pre-

served features which did not exist in Standard Finnish and nowadays in few other Finnish varieties. This caused Finns to associate Tornedalen Finnish with archaic forms.

Within the home, Finnish was used among parents and their friends, but Swedish was the dominant language when speaking to children and dogs. Despite the clear tendency towards language shift, people were generally positive regarding the possibility of Finnish surviving.

Notes

[1] Municipalities in Sweden form part of counties. The county of Norrbotten is made up of ten municipalities, five of which are Tornedalen Finnish-speaking. Municipalities are administrative units, with local politicians, responsible for local education and public services.

[2] From this perspective the Kven Finnish of northern Norway offers interesting material for comparison — Kven Finnish is in several ways very close to Tornedalen Finnish.

[3] The seminar was attended by Marjut Aikio, Terje Aronsen, Taina Hollo, Matti Kenttä, Anna-Riitta Lindgren, Heikki Paunonen, Kalle Pekkari, Erling Wande and Birger Winsa.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF THE TORNE VALLEY AND TORNEDALEN FINNISH

Early history

Norrbotten and Lappland (a geographical area which covers the western part of the counties of Norrbotten and Västerbotten) have two minority peoples dating from early times: Sami, and Finns or Tornedalians. Tornedalen Finnish has been spoken in the area (see Map 1) since approximately the eleventh century. The linguistic area has primarily been along the valley of the Torne River, and from the seventeenth century in the Kiruna and Gällivare municipalities (Winsa 1991). Sami have been living in Sweden for at least 2000 years. They are without doubt the first people in "modern" time in Norrbotten. The Roman historian Tacitus referred to the *fenne* (Sami) in 90 AD (Tornionlaakson historia 1991:156). However, the oldest archaeological findings have been traced back to about 4000–5500 BC (Tornedalens historia I). The origin of these stone age people and what language they spoke are unknown.

The settlement history of the Finnish-speaking area has its roots in different periods of migration from Finland. Tornedalen Finnish can therefore be divided into three sub-varieties: Gällivare Finnish, spoken in the Gällivare area; Vittanki Finnish, spoken in parts of the Kiruna area; and Torne Valley Finnish, spoken in the region of Pajala, Övertorneå and Haparanda.

Apart from the strong influence from Torne Valley Finnish, typical features of Gällivare Finnish can be traced to Sami (Lappish) and to a Karelian variety which was spoken in North Karelia (on the Russian side of the Finnish border) during the seventeenth century (Winsa 1991). Gällivare Finnish also has strong influence from West Finnish varieties, similar to the other two sub-varieties.

Torne Valley Finnish is the oldest variety. The first linguistic studies of this variety were carried out in the late nineteenth century. One of these minor studies argued that it had East Finnish roots, whereas another study stressed its West Finnish origin. The first comprehensive study of this variety was conducted by Martti Airila (1912). He claimed that it was basically of West Finnish origin. In the 1980s Heikki Paunonen studied the Northern Finnish varieties and concluded that they are a mixture of both West Finnish and East Finnish roots, with internal developments. For this reason they should be regarded as a separate variety (Paunonen 1991).

Two recent studies focused attention on the vocabulary, and the core vocabulary in particular (Winsa 1991, 1994). They show that a high percentage of frequently used and central words — such as pronouns and nature terms — have their origin in Karelian and East Finnish varieties. It is well known that settlers from Karelia as well as from western Finland moved to the southern parts of the valley along the Torne River. The oldest roots are, according to the latest study, thus found in Karelia, especially on the Karelian Isthmus, and in West Finnish varieties. During the sixteenth century set-

tlers and war refugees from the county of Savo in the central eastern part of Finland came to the Torne Valley (Vahtola 1980).

The first settlement of Finnish speakers may therefore have arisen along the valley of the Torne River (Winsa 1991). In historical tradition the West Finnish migration is thought to be the oldest one, despite the fact that most West Finnish placenames have been found far away from the coast line since medieval times, i.e. in the area of Matarenki and Hietaniemi (Vahtola 1980). Without doubt the influence of West Finnish on Torne Valley Finnish is massive, the most dominant linguistic feature. This should indicate strong West Finnish settlement. However, there is no clearcut instrument to define where in Finland the first "modern" settlers came from: Karelians or West Finns?

The Swedish-speaking settlement had probably already arisen in the Middle Ages in the village of Kainuunkylä, formerly called Helsingeby, in the Torne Valley. But these groups were Finnisized in the dominantly Finnish-speaking environment. On the south and west part of the language border they founded their Swedish-speaking communities where they could resist the dominating influence of the Finns and maintain their own language.

The history of the Torne Valley since 1809

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Torne Valley formed part of the Finnish-speaking periphery of the Swedish–Finnish kingdom that had existed for seven hundred years, with its centre in Stockholm. Sweden lost the Swedish–Russian war in 1808–09 and the tsar of Russia decided after negotiations with Sweden to draw the new border along the Torne and Muonio Rivers. The Finnish part was lost to Russia. The Finnish-speaking people in the area which is now the Swedish Torne Valley became a border minority (Groth 1984; Slunga 1965; Tenerz 1963). The Finns on the Finnish side became part of a dominant culture, whereas the culture of the Swedish Tornedalians became a dominated minority culture.

Although this minority has on the whole been very loyal to the Swedish king, it has, from time to time, caused the Swedish kingdom trouble and has even been regarded as a safety risk, due to the fact that the people spoke a "foreign" language and thus (from 1809 on) formed an "alien" element in the country. In fact it has never belonged to any other kingdom, something which cannot be said, for example, about the southernmost provinces of today's Sweden, which had earlier belonged to Denmark.

This division has certainly affected people's attitudes until this day. Swedish authorities have often expressed the opinion that the Tornedalians have always and unanimously supported the Swedicization policy (SOU 1921; Slunga 1965). In education, late nineteenth century political ideas on minority cultures influenced policy to a large extent, and have been more important viewpoints than pure pedagogic or educational motives (Slunga 1965).

Landmarks in the history of Tornedalen Finnish

1808–09: Swedish–Russian war.

1809: Peace treaty which drew up the boundary between Sweden and Finland.

1854: The first elementary school was established in Haparanda (SOU 1921).

1875: An elementary school teachers' training college for the region was founded, also in Haparanda (SOU 1921:49). Swedish school authorities found that there was a need for special pedagogical training for teachers who were going to teach Finnish-speaking Tornedalian children. Applicants to the college were mostly recruited from the region itself and during the first ten years or so of its existence instruction was given mainly in Finnish (Groth 1984; Slunga 1965). Swedish later became the only medium of instruction.

1888: The most important Swedicization measure was the establishment of elementary schools subsidized by the state — on condition that in these schools instruction was to be given solely in Swedish. The first schools were established in 1888. A folk high school, for adults wishing to further their education but not preparing for university entrance, was also started 1899 in Matarenki, with the aim of being a "a bulwark for Swedish civilization and culture" and "a seat of Swedishness for Sweden's outermost border to the east" (Tenerz 1963:35). Despite these efforts Finnish as a university subject was established in 1894, and the first professor in Finnish and Sami was appointed in 1905 at Uppsala University (DS 1994:97).[1]

1896: The first work house school (*arbetsstuga*) for the children of poor families was founded in Matarenki. One of its functions was to "promote Swedish civilization" in the Finnish districts. The everyday language was Swedish (SOU 1921:304, 310, 326). Pedagogical practice often included physical punishment of children who spoke Finnish until they did not dare to speak their language in public. This institution influenced attitudes towards Finnish and Torne Valley culture.

1919: A special Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the possible need for using Finnish in school instruction (SOU 1921). The committee, however, did not find any need for instruction in Finnish, not even as an auxiliary language when beginners did not understand what was said in Swedish. In a questionnaire only one teacher favoured Finnish as a subject, whereas about 30 per cent wanted to have Finnish as an auxiliary language. One of the arguments put forward by a priest was that, as the mother tongue of the Tornedalians was Finnish, the pupils already knew it. On the other hand he argued that Tornedalen Finnish was just a dialect and that in any case people would not understand Standard Finnish, which would thus be a third language (SOU 1921:95, 401). A shopkeeper in Tärendö argued that lack of instruction in Finnish had led to a situation where "children did not know either Swedish or Finnish" (SOU 1921:391), i.e. that they were what was later termed "semilinguals". However, the primary aim was not education and literacy as such, but the imprinting of nationalistic ideas. For this reason a priest claimed that the introduction of Finnish as a subject would "spoil all Swedicization efforts"; while another priest from Tärendö had positive news — he claimed — when reporting that the mainstreamed child's "insights in Finnish beyond everyday language is equal to zero" (SOU 1921:93, 399).

A proposal was put to the Royal Commission to let Tornedalians study Finnish in continuation school (starting in 6th grade, following the compulsory elementary or folk school years) so that they could gain literacy in their mother tongue. The Commission answered that it was their intention to let the Tornedalians be bilinguals and it

had no intention of oppressing Finnish, but two language subjects was too much even in continuation school. This would have a negative effect on other instruction.

The first important measures to forbid Finnish literature in the Finnish-speaking municipalities were taken by the Commission in its support of a proposal from the County Administrative Board to establish travelling libraries with the aim of "maintaining interest in Swedish language and Swedish literature" and to "strengthen the knowledge of Swedish language and to spur love of reading". The idea was supported by local teachers who wanted to have library books only in Swedish; a state forest keeper feared that it would be a "great danger for the younger generations ... if Finnish literature was available". The local newspaper argued that the majority supported prohibition of Finnish literature (SOU 1921:391–2). Ten travelling libraries and four minor libraries were established with aid from the government and run by the public library in Luleå (SOU 1921:302), probably with no books in Finnish.
The first steps to forbid Finnish in the playground were taken at public meetings where many teachers and possibly farmers as well demanded that Swedish should be the only language in the playground (SOU 1921:392). Some years later this became a rule enforced by local authorities.

1955: Finnish became a voluntary extra subject in gymnasiums (senior high schools which prepare students for university and more recently for practical occupations), formally in 1944 but in practice not until 1955 (Groth 1984; Wande 1984b; Hederyd 1992).

1957: All libraries were allowed to keep books in Finnish, and pupils were allowed to speak Finnish during breaks in school. In practice the prohibition on speaking Finnish in the playground existed till 1967 in some villages (Hansegård 1968; Pekkari 1994b).

1962: Finnish could be studied in grades 7–8 as an optional subject. If taken, the choice excluded entrance to gymnasium.

1970: Finnish could be studied at all levels in primary school (to 9th grade).

1976: The Swedish home language reform was carried out, under which children whose home language was not Swedish could request and participate in home language instruction according to need, but in practice for 1–2 hours/week. The reform was in fact initiated by the debate on assumed semilingualism in the Torne Valley (Municio 1987:47–8).

1981: The association Svenska Tornedalingars Riksförbund – Tornionlaaksolaiset (STR–T) was founded.2 The Swedish Tornedalians' Association introduced the term "minority". This year marks a turning point in attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish, which became defined as a language in its own right by the Association.

1987: Academia Tornedaliensis (Meän akateemi) was founded with the aim of maintaining Tornedalen Finnish and the culture of the Torne Valley.

1995: The first university course in Tornedalen Finnish was held at the Department of Finnish, Stockholm University.

1995: The Swedish government appointed a Royal Commission of politicians and minority representatives to study which parts of the European Charter for Regional or

Minority Languages could be applied to the Swedish setting and to define which national minorities exist in Sweden. The Commission is due to present its report in January 1998.

1996: Organizations representing Sami, Romanies, Sweden Finns3 (Finns other than Tornedalians living in Sweden) and Tornedalians constituted a member state committee in Sweden with membership of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. The organization representing Jews in Sweden acquired membership in 1997.

1996: A second Commission was appointed by the state, which, according to its terms of reference, was to investigate whether Sweden could ratify the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Sweden was to plan a new Minority policy based on the reports of the two Minority Commissions. According to rumours Sweden would acknowledge two territorial minority languages in Sweden: Sami and Finnish/Tornedalen Finnish. In addition, Romany Chib ('language') and Finnish spoken all over Sweden would perhaps achieve non-territorial status. A government bill on Swedish minorities is apparently to be drafted in 1998.

Tornedalen Finnish and status

The term "Tornedalen Finnish"

Tornedalen Finnish is spoken in the Swedish part of the Torne Valley which is located in the county of Norrbotten along the Swedish side of the Torne River, which forms part of the border between Sweden and Finland. "Torne Valley", as a geographical term, includes parts of the municipalities of Haparanda, Övertorneå and Pajala along the Torne River. "Geographic Torne Valley" in this book refers to this area. However, the term "Torne Valley" also has a wider meaning. It is used as a cultural definition of the spread of Tornedalen Finnish, which mostly includes not only Haparanda, Övertorneå and Pajala but also Gällivare and Kiruna. These are the five municipalities where Finnish and Sami were originally spoken. "The orefield" is the local term used by the inhabitants of the municipalities of Gällivare and Kiruna, although younger people from the orefields often define themselves as Tornedalians (Cullblom 1994). However, there also exists another more restricted definition of Tornedalen Finnish where the Finnish spoken in the Gällivare municipality is excluded from the term (Kulturutskottets betänkande 1993–94:KrU6). Gällivare Finnish is included in the term "Norrbotten Finnish". This restricted definition is confusing, and for this reason should not be used.

The vocabulary of Tornedalen Finnish is a mixture of several Finnish varieties and other languages. It includes vocabulary from East Finnish (including Karelian), West Finnish, North Finnish, Sami, Norwegian and Swedish (Winsa 1991; Paunonen 1991).

The number of Swedish loan words and the use of code switching between Tornedalen Finnish and Swedish vary depending on the form of the speech and the age of the speaker. Furthermore, in the Swedish Torne Valley many former Finns speak different Finnish varieties, in various degrees, influenced by an increasing number of Swedish loans. Thus Tornedalen Finnish in its spoken form shows great variation.

Obviously the term "Tornedalen Finnish" should include the spoken language of both adults and adolescents. In its written form Tornedalen Finnish is only a few decades old (Snell 1972; Lantto 1973).

In recent decades Tornedalen Finnish has been officially termed *Meänkieli* 'Our Language', to distinguish it from Standard Finnish. An even more important reason is to stress the new collective identity. The term *Meänkieli* was already in use at least in the early twentieth century by Tornedalians who wanted to separate the Finnish spoken in Finland from the local variety. It was for instance fairly common in the 1960s among people along the Finnish border to claim that they did not speak real Finland Finnish[4], "only this Our Language". The term in itself has caused much discussion. Many older informants feel it is ridiculous and want to keep the general term "Finnish", a word which they claim has been used for several generations.

The term "Tornedalen Finnish" emerged at approximately the same time as the term "Torne Finns" or "Finns of the Torne Valley" was abandoned and replaced with "Tornedalian" or "Finnish-speaking Tornedalian". "Torne Finns", or a similar term, had been the general term in scientific and popular literature to describe the Finnish-speaking population living in the Finnish district. Even here the association with Finland was perceived as negative and the County Board of Education abandoned the term "Finn district" in the 1970s and replaced it with "Torne Valley" (Pekkari 1994b). Very few regarded the term "Torne Finn" as neutral.

In the villages Tornedalen Finnish is fairly homogeneous, although there are major differences between the generations as well. While the villages have a shared understanding of what is meant by Tornedalen Finnish, the term is more diffuse in larger villages and small cities such as Matarenki and Haparanda, which have more Finnish immigrants or former immigrants who have lived in southern Sweden for decades and have become Swedish citizens and moved up to the Torne Valley. The border villages in general have a high percentage of cross-marriages and more monolingual Swedes who have a limited knowledge of Finnish. Competence in Finnish varies more in such communities, due to their being a more socially and economically diversified society with different attitudes and linguistic behaviours.

Hierarchy of status: Sami, Tornedalen Finnish, Standard Finnish, Swedish

A hierarchy of evaluation of the three sub-dialects of Tornedalen Finnish exists. If no written normative form exists, status is probably the most important factor which predicts attitudes towards correct use and language norms. Hence a good indicator of status is who corrects whose variety. The corrector claims to speak the right form. For a number of expressions used by Tornedalians, Gällivare Finnish speakers seldom correct other varieties except Nattavaara Finnish, a sub-variety of Gällivare Finnish; whereas Vittanki Finnish speakers sometimes correct Gällivare Finnish speakers. Both varieties often submit to corrections made by Torne Valley Finnish speakers.

Another marker of prestige is how peculiar, vulgar, harsh, laughable and strange a variety is judged by others.

Torne Valley Finnish speakers decide the language norms and proper use — from their perspective. However, Finland Finnish has higher prestige than Tornedalen Fin-

nish. Hence Finns rule the language norms in the Tornedalen Finnish area, especially in Matarenki and Haparanda, the two border municipalities.

Tornedalians in general have little awareness of the difference between the Standard Finnish variety and other varieties spoken in Finland: they are all regarded as Finland Finnish, or in other words a different Finnish from their own, and not instantly understood. The rating of the Finnish varieties is reflected in interviews when Tornedalians claim they do not speak the "real" and "correct" Finnish, as compared with the "wrong" Finnish they feel they are speaking themselves. The idea of Tornedalen Finnish as a mixed and incomprehensible language has been common during this century, supported and backed up by official views. For example, an officer of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions wrote in 1913 about Tornedalians who "spoke a language of their own, which is not Swedish, Finnish or Lappish, but something terribly between" (quoted in Cullblom 1994:97). In 1935 a member of parliament and the right wing local newspaper defined Tornedalen Finnish as a local gibberish (Tenerz 1963:351).

Until the early twentieth century many Tornedalians had some competence in Sami. Sami had been the third language in Gällivare, but nowadays is little used in that municipality. Only a few decades ago many people in the Gällivare municipality had bilingual competence in Finnish and Sami, because reindeer herding is more common in the municipality, which is close to the Scandinavian mountains, and consequently there was a higher percentage of bilingual or trilingual Sami. Proficiency in Sami led to loans of Sami words into Gällivare Finnish, words incomprehensible to the people further east (Winsa 1991). The high percentage of Sami loan words in Gällivare Finnish, which differs in phonology, morphology and vocabulary from Torne Valley Finnish, is probably one reason for its lower status. People from the border municipalities who moved to the area were often requested by their friends and relatives not to learn the allegedly ugly Gällivare Finnish.

People along the Finnish border sometimes experience problems in understanding the Gällivare variety of Finnish, especially the variety spoken in the village of Nattavaara and some villages nearby, the westernmost limit of the Gällivare Finnish area. Nattavaara Finnish sounds strange to the ears of a Torne Valley Finnish speaker. Vittanki Finnish is to some extent comparable with Gällivare Finnish. The grammar of Gällivare Finnish is not fully accepted by others and is regarded as erroneous. For example, they use what is commonly regarded as a passive form (but can be thought of as an impersonal verb form) in other dialects of Finnish, both for the passive and for the third person plural: *net menthiin* thus has the double meaning of 'they went' and 'one went'. This can be compared with Torne Valley Finnish which has *net menit* 'they went' and Standard Finnish which has *he menivät* 'they went' (Winsa 1991).

Furthermore, Gällivare Finnish is located more than 100 km from the Finnish border and for that reason is less influenced by Standard Finnish vocabulary. Instead Swedish loans are more frequent, meeting the need for new terms and forgotten words.

One socio-economic reason for differences in status between the sub-dialects might be the more advanced agriculture in the Torne Valley area, because of its location and soil. The inhabitants along the southern part of the geographic Torne Valley have had a better economic standard than those in Gällivare. This relative wealth and poverty have probably caused social associations with linguistic attitudes — noticed in other minorities as well (Trudgill 1983:217; Appel et al. 1987:33).

Furthermore, the particular variety of Swedish spoken in Överkalix, though some distance from Gällivare, has possibly influenced Gällivare Finnish, especially in intonation. The Överkalix variety differs significantly from Standard Swedish, sometimes labelled as a fourth language in the Gällivare municipality. A monolingual Swedish speaker cannot understand Överkalix Swedish.

In some villages in the southern part of the area there have been people who spoke Swedish, Finnish, Sami and Överkalix Swedish. It was a native quadrilingual area: Swedish was the official language; Finnish was used at home and especially in forestry, because the loggers were often Finnish immigrants; Sami was spoken in reindeer herding and fishing; and the Överkalix variety belonged to the home setting.

Sami has had the lowest prestige (Hansegård 1988). But nowadays when the Sami associations are very active with good institutional support, attitudes have probably changed. In other words the status of Sami has increased with the establishment of institutions and the improved social status of minority language speakers. In addition, the lack of Sami speech in the central parts of the Torne Valley leaves the question of prestige in the past.

The attitudes to Standard Finnish or Finland Finnish are more difficult to define. Finland Finnish possesses more prestige, because it is regarded as "real" Finnish. However, in the private sphere one quite common opinion is that Finland Finnish is vulgar and raw. It sounds different and unfamiliar from an aesthetic point of view. Tornedalen Finnish is felt to be more soft and easy.

> "Our Language is nicer than real Finnish — it's so simple." (Female, 20 years, Matarenki.)
>
> "This is the real Finnish, it's so soft. Finland Finnish is so hard." (Fairly common knowledge in the Torne Valley.)

It is probably common among many speakers to define their own local variety as plainer and easier to understand, and to claim that the other variety is odder, harsher or more incomprehensible (Dorian 1981:87).

Tornedalen Finnish is sometimes thought to be an archaic form of Finnish by Finns, because of its isolation from Finland and Standard Finnish. Indeed, Tornedalen Finnish has preserved some features which have fallen out of use in other Finnish varieties. It has low prestige to the ear of a Finnish citizen. This is partly because of its frequent use of the phoneme *h*. For instance, *h* is always used in the illative case, e.g. Tornedalen Finnish has *talhoon* 'to the house' where Standard Finnish has *taloon*. In addition, Tornedalen Finnish has gained some ridiculous associations because of its great number of Swedish loans. Thus when a Tornedalian tries to speak "real" Finnish he cannot speak it fluently. This has led to the attitude among many Finns that few Swedish Tornedalians speak fluent Finnish.

At the top of the language prestige hierarchy is Swedish, the high status language, surpassed only by English. Standard Finnish possesses prestige as the dominant language in Finland, whereas Tornedalen Finnish has the lowest status, but has to some extent an ingroup prestige, especially among men.

The association of prestige with Swedish and English becomes clear when one tries to find reasons why Swedish must be spoken in some places and why some terms must be in English. For example, Tornedalian music groups have Swedish or English

names, and it would be seen as a joke if the groups were to give themselves a Tornedalen Finnish name.

A common reaction to poorly valued languages and deviations from appropriate linguistic behaviour is laughter and smiles in the group if the deviator is one of the ingroup and should know the rules. If the person who deviates from the accepted behaviour belongs to the majority group a higher level of tolerance is common, because he does not know the appropriate linguistic behaviour. To some extent the effect of rule breaking depends on the personality of the rule breaker, but in general uneasiness, shyness, embarrassment, laughter and insecurity are the results if one tries to speak Tornedalen Finnish where Swedish is appropriate. But to speak Swedish where Finnish is appropriate in private life causes mostly negative emotions such as anger, hostility and the belief that the speaker is being arrogant and pretentious. Even in the early twentieth century opinion labelled a normally Finnish-speaking person as pretentious if he spoke Swedish (SOU 1921:53). On the other hand monolingual Swedish speakers possess the prestige to demand only Swedish when they are present, without causing any hostility. It was even fairly common earlier for monolingual Swedes to feel offended if Tornedalians did not switch to Swedish in their presence.

In the last decade a change in attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish has occurred. There is a strong tendency today to regard Tornedalen Finnish as equal with Standard Finnish, a view that causes much discussion about its status as a language or a variety. Those who define Tornedalen Finnish as a language have more positive attitudes to it.[5] Its new status has resulted in purely Swedish domains being penetrated by Tornedalen Finnish. For example, a music group from the Torne Valley has given itself a Finnish name: *Polttoöljy* 'fuel oil'; while a group of sportsmen has taken a Finnish team name.[6]

Notes

[1] This assimilation policy was part of a general trend in Western society at that time. The philosopher John Stuart Mill greatly influenced the linguistic policy of governments by maintaining that national minorities such as Scots and Bretons were backward races and should be assimilated as quickly as possible. Educational policy was strongly influenced by the nationalistic and racial movement of the nineteenth century. For instance, in France it was "forbidden to spit or speak Breton" (Jacob 1990:53). In the Canadian province of Ontario, French schooling was abolished in 1915 because of its threat to the "English Protestant race" (Mogeon and Beniak 1991:45).

[2] Translated into English this is the Association of Swedish Tornedalians. The first part of the title is in Swedish; the last word *Tornionlaaksolaiset* is the Finnish term for Tornedalians. This is to indicate their bilingualism.

[3] Finnish "immigrants" scattered all over Sweden are officially called Sweden Finns. Unlike the Tornedalian Finns, they have no particular territory but have lived in Sweden for many centuries as a result of long term migration from Finland. Today some 200 000 Sweden Finns speak Finnish as their mother tongue. However, they had always been assimilated into the majority group, and have therefore been treated as immigrants by the Swedish Parliament and by the general public. The Sweden Finnish organisation, National Association of Finns in Sweden, claim, however, that they constitute a Swedish national minority due to the long tradition of migration from Finland.

Notes continued

The Finnish Swedes in Sweden are Finnish immigrants with Swedish as their mother tongue, i.e. they are originally from the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

[4] Finland Finnish refers to all Finnish varieties spoken in Finland, as well as by Finnish immigrants in Sweden. Every Finnish variety which is different from Tornedalen Finnish and is associated with Finland is Finland Finnish.

[5] I use the terms language and language form or variety hereafter, and do not differentiate between Standard language and dialect; so that the social evaluation of Standard dialect and other dialects will vanish (cf. Trudgill 1983:201ff.).

[66] The attitude towards Finnish, however, is often still hostile. A music group with a Swedish name, which has performed Finnish songs in every continent, has always been welcomed and valued. However, when they came to Svanstein, Övertorneå, someone in the audience asked them to avoid songs in Finnish.

CHAPTER 3

THE PEOPLE OF THE TORNE VALLEY

Social and economic status of the Tornedalians

Demographic changes

There is a fairly good record of the population on both sides of the Torne River during this century, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4: Population of the Torne Valley

	1809	1940	1960	1966	1980	1994
Swedish Torne Valley	ca 6 959	35 000	33 492	31 115	24 600	25 464
Finnish Torne Valley	ca 7 545	35 000	39 179	41 301	38 300	39 500

At the time of the peace treaty in 1809 following the Swedish–Russian War, the total number of inhabitants in the geographic Torne Valley was just over 14 000 people. At the beginning of the 1940s the population was about the same size on either side of the river, with about 35 000 on each side. Since 1952 there has been a rapid decrease in the population of the Swedish Torne Valley (SOU 1960). Pajala municipality today has fewer people that it had 1919, when there were 9041 inhabitants, compared with 8119 in 1995 (SOU 1921:16; FNB 1993; SKF 1995).

This fairly big difference in demographic development between the Finnish and Swedish sides of the Torne Valley arose partly from different labour market policies in Sweden and Finland during the crucial postwar decades. Unemployment rates have been high on both sides for several decades, and migration has been high on both sides as well, especially to central and southern Sweden.

The reasons for this sharp decrease in population and persistent high unemployment rates must be sought in two main factors: emigration from the area; and the action taken by the Swedish authorities with regard to language and education at the end of last century and during the early decades of this century.

The population of Övertorneå municipality

In 1966 the population in Övertorneå municipality was 6406 persons, and 274 in Aapua (Jaakkola 1969:24). In 1995 the population in Övertorneå municipality had decreased slightly to 6159 inhabitants (FNB 1994; SCB 1992:table 23; Prog 1990:9; SKF 1995), while Aapua had about 200 inhabitants, with a sharp decrease from a high in the early 1970s to early 1980s when it reached a temporarily fairly stable level.

Some 19.7 per cent of the population of the municipality was born abroad, of whom the majority are Finns (SCB 1996; FNB 1994).

Many Finns have moved from Finland to Matarenki, and many former Finns have come from southern Sweden to settle near the border.[1] Furthermore, the municipality has a fairly high percentage of monolingual Swedish speakers who are married to a Finnish-speaking spouse.

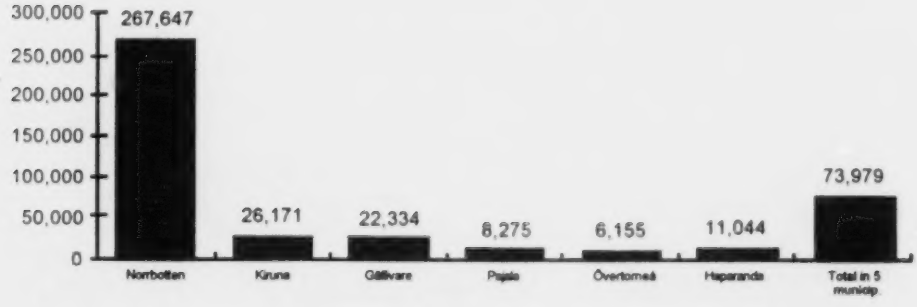
The number of people who have moved out of Övertorneå municipality between 1974–1989 was about 240–450 a year. However, the number who have moved in was almost the same. The average net decrease was 10–20 persons each year (FlyttNB 1990:table 6; FNB 1994).

Speakers of autochthonous minority languages in Norrbotten

A common way to measure the size of most linguistic minorities is based on territorial principles. People living in a certain area are all classified as belonging to a definite territorial, linguistic minority (Allardt et al. 1979). This principle has, however, not been applied to the Finnish-speaking area in Sweden, possibly for political reasons. The size of the Finnish-speaking minority in northern Sweden has been based on estimates of how many inhabitants in the five Finnish-speaking municipalities speak Finnish. This estimated number, and not the actual number of inhabitants, has then been regarded as the size of the minority. This method has always been used exclusively in the Torne Valley, by politicians and administrators as well as linguists.

According to the census of 1930 there were about 40 000 Finnish speakers in the county of Norrbotten (Sveriges officiella statistik 1937; Slunga 1965). In 1959 the bishop of Luleå diocese estimated the number of Finnish speakers as 40 000 Swedish citizens (Pekkari 1979). In 1967 the County Administrative Board estimated the numbers as 70 000, or more than 25 per cent of the population of the county (Pekkari 1979). The older estimations were probably much too low, because of the fact that competence in Finnish was often considered a burden in public life and in many occupations.

Figure 1. Population of Norrbotten 1994



The Swedish Tornedalians' Association estimated in the mid 1980s that the total number of Tornedalians who can speak or understand Tornedalen Finnish is about 80 000 (SCB 1994; FNB 1994). Roughly half of them live in southern Sweden (Johansson, orally; cf. HB 1993) (where the second generation of Tornedalians is almost entirely monolingual in Swedish). Furthermore, it is estimated that the number of Finnish speakers in Norrbotten would be about 50 000 (Rapport 1986:22). In the five Finnish-speaking municipalities we have about 20 000–40 000 inhabitants, almost all of whom are bilingual, who speak Finnish as their everyday language, or at least understand it to a great extent (cf. Pekkari 1994b) out of a total population of 73 979 (Figure 1). (If we include adolescents who have some receptive knowledge of Tornedalen Finnish the numbers would be much higher.) A conservative estimate is that about 40–60 per cent of the population in the municipalities of Pajala, Övertorneå and Haparanda have more or less proficiency in Tornedalen Finnish, while in Gällivare and Kiruna municipalities approximately 20–40 per cent of the population speak Finnish as an everyday language. About 5000–10 000 inhabitants in parts of Kiruna municipality use Vittanki Finnish as an everyday language. Approximately the same numbers speak Gällivare Finnish. The number of listeners to the local radio station, which broadcasts in Finnish/Tornedalen Finnish, is about 25 000–35 000 in Norrbotten (oral information, local radio station, Pajala).

In general Finnish has a stronger position in the villages, especially in the municipalities of Haparanda, Övertorneå and Pajala. In the larger villages and some cities Tornedalen Finnish is mainly spoken by the working class at home and among close friends. The Swedish impact is strongest in cities, such as Kiruna and Gällivare, in larger villages, and among children, adolescents and adults up to about 25–35 years. For the youngest generation Swedish is the first and main everyday language, while people older than 35 in general use Finnish as the main language of communication.

The number of Sami in the whole of Sweden is about 15 000–20 000, depending on how they are counted and how the concept of Sami is defined (Korhonen 1976; SOU 1990:90; Hyvärinen 1995). In 1984 it was estimated that 9000 people spoke Sami in Sweden (Hyltenstam and Stroud 1990:143). Recent numbers are estimated at 7500 (Hyvärinen 1995). In the Finnish-speaking municipalities Sami is spoken in Gällivare and Kiruna by 4000–5000 people, according to Hansegård (1979:33). Some inhabitants of Pajala and Övertorneå municipalities have some receptive competence in Sami. However, only 365 pupils in primary school in Norrbotten assert that one of their home languages is Sami (Slunga 1989). (According to a Royal Commission every one of these can speak Sami, and they make up about 20 per cent of all Sami children in primary school. Thus every fifth Sami child has Sami as his mother tongue (SOU 1990:91, 62). This is, however, a mistake caused by good intentions. The numbers indicate how many of the children assert that they hear Sami in their home environment, and not that they speak it themselves.)

The economy of the Torne Valley

In the Torne Valley in 1950, 56 per cent of the workforce was engaged in farming; the averages for rural Norrbotten and for Sweden as a whole were 46.3 per cent and 23.4 per cent respectively (SOU 1958:55). In 1966 forestry and farming still employed 40.8

per cent of the workforce in the Torne Valley. Only 18.4 per cent were engaged in service industries. The average for Norrbotten was 18.6 per cent for forestry and farming and 21 per cent for service industries in 1966 (Haavio-Mannila and Suolinna 1967:8). Even in the 1920s the area was described by a Royal Commission as slightly backward (SOU 1921:47). Kiruna and Gällivare, unlike the other Finnish-speaking municipalities, are heavily dependent on the mining industry. Ownership of small businesses in Norrbotten in 1994 was among the lowest of all counties in Sweden (NB 1996:79; NSD 1996–08–07).

Today by far the most common work in the whole county is in the public sector, ranging from 44–49 per cent of the workforce in the three border municipalities of Haparanda, Övertorneå and Pajala (Fisk 1994). Pajala has the next highest percentage of people working in the public sector of all rural municipalities in Sweden (Fisk 1994). The most common work in the private sector in Pajala is in the mining and manufacturing industries, with 12 per cent of the workforce. The same is true for Haparanda and Övertorneå, where the corresponding figures are 14.4 per cent and 13.7 per cent respectively. Agriculture and forestry have decreased massively, but still employ 11.0 per cent of the workforce in Pajala. This is the highest proportion in the county. Övertorneå and Haparanda have 8.0 per cent and 3.2 per cent respectively employed in agriculture and forestry (Statistics 1991, 1992. FNB 1994).

Level of education predicts willingness to move. Better educated people more often move to southern parts of Sweden where they can find jobs suited to their skills (FlyttNB 1990:16). Pajala, Överkalix and Arjeplog municipalities have the highest rate of inhabitants in Norrbotten with only primary school, or the former elementary school, education, with 44–45 per cent of the population (FNB 1994). This means for instance that in 1994 Pajala, Haparanda and Övertorneå municipalities had the lowest average income in the county, i.e. between 100 000 and 103 300 Swedish krona/year (NB 1996:109).[2] In 1991 Pajala was among the ten municipalities with the lowest income in the whole of Sweden (Fisk 1994). The position was similar in 1993, but males in Pajala had almost the lowest income in the whole country, whereas females were in a slightly better position (NSD–95–12–12). The average income in the county of Norrbotten as a whole, with its forests, hydro-electric power stations and mining industry, is higher than the national average (115 000 krona in 1994 compared with the national average of 112 300 krona (NB 1996:109)); it is principally Pajala, Haparanda and Övertorneå municipalities which lag behind the national average.

The percentages of social welfare payments in income per household are the highest in these three municipalities, ranging from 25.9 per cent to 29.1 per cent a year in 1991. The county average was 20.1 per cent and the nation average 17.2 per cent (Fisk 1994:77ff.).

Consequently, of all counties Norrbotten receives the highest economic subsidies and welfare payments from the Swedish government, i.e. 89 000 krona/year per capita. The national average is 68 000 krona/year per capita (NB 1996:39).

A survey in the 1960s concluded that the geographic Torne Valley had a weak economy, low levels of education, and high unemployment, with a strong need for government subsidies. The average Tornedalian paid only 57 per cent of the average amount of tax paid by Swedes (SOU 1960:184). The Swedish Torne Valley lags far behind the average GNP (gross national product) per capita, although the Gross

Regional Product of Norrbotten is close to the national average. However, there has been an improvement in the average level of education in the Finnish-speaking municipalities and they are now close to the average for rural municipalities (Fisk 1994).

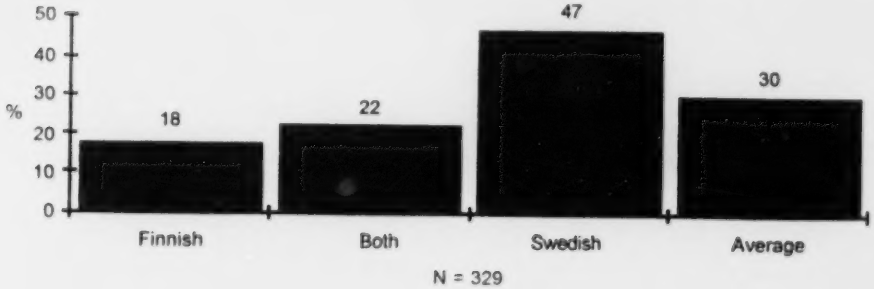
The weaker economy of the Tornedalians, however, is typical for a minority group. Of 37 minorities in Europe in the 1970s, 24 had lower GNP per capita than the national average. Only nine of the 37 minorities had higher than the average, with four minorities having average GNP per capita (Allardt 1979). In the latest study it was found that 16 minority regions of the EU have low economic diversification, 21 have medium and only ten minority regions have high economic diversification (Nelde et al. 1996). This may not be solely because of their peripheral location, but can perhaps to some extent be an effect of language policies which do not promote bilingualism. Circumstantial evidence for a correlation between language policy and socio-economic development is found among French speakers in Québec, for example. The location of Québec, the status of French in general, and the size of the French-speaking group exclude variables such as peripheral location and small community size. Francophones make up approximately 7 million of the population of 29 million. In the 1960s they earned 20–30 per cent less than Anglophones living in Québec, and much less than the average GNP per capita in Canada (Rep RCBB 1968–69; Villancourt 1996). After 30 years of promoting Canadian French, Francophones are moving closer to the national average in a number of economic and social indicators. However, Francophones still earn about 7 per cent less than Anglophones, and the province of Québec still has 2 per cent higher unemployment than the rest of the country (Coté and Johnston 1995).

Linguistic competence and unemployment

Being from a minority language group affects employment opportunities. Because of unemployment Swedish Tornedalians have moved from rural areas in higher numbers than their neighbours on the Finnish side of the border.

Willingness to move to find employment correlates with language. Figure 2 shows that in 1966, 47 per cent of those who moved from the Finnish-speaking area spoke Swedish better than Finnish (Jaakkola 1969:32). Those who had Finnish as their best language were more resistant to leaving their home village. This implies that Swedish identity has a positive influence on willingness to change the social situation.

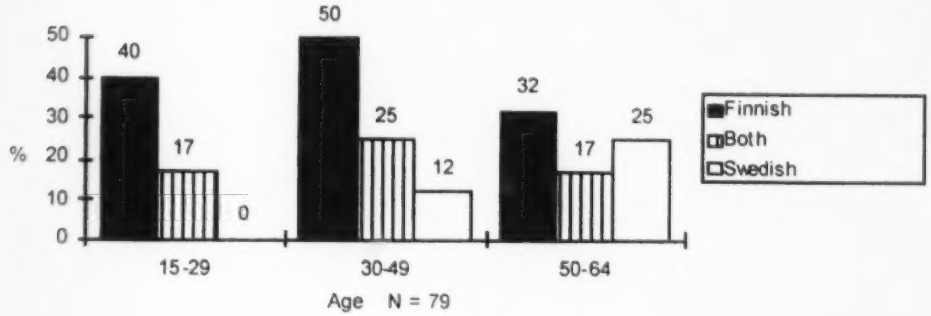
Figure 2. Best language and willingness to move to seek employment



In 1966 nearly one third of the population aimed to move to cities or to southern Sweden. Willingness to move to find employment also correlates with age. Younger age groups are generally more willing to move, and in fact a higher percentage in the 15–29 age group had plans to move from the area. In this age group, 68 per cent of those with Swedish as their best language planned to move, whereas only 53 per cent with Finnish as their best language planned to seek a better living somewhere else (Jaakkola 1969:33).

The rate of unemployment across all age groups is higher among those with Finnish as their best language (Jaakkola 1969:104). Figure 3 shows that this is particularly so for the 15–29 age group, with 40 per cent who had been unemployed for some period during the previous year, compared with only 5 per cent of those with Swedish as their best language (Jaakkola 1969:149).

Figure 3. Best language and unemployment 1966



We can assume that this situation would have continued up to the end of 1970s. During the 1980s younger people became more competent in Swedish so that there is now hardly any similar correlation between linguistic competence and unemployment. On the contrary, there may be a positive correlation between employment and bilingualism in Haparanda and Övertorneå. Hence the revival movement initiated by the Swedish Tornedalians' Association may perhaps lead to the consequence that balanced bilingualism will become more frequent among the best educated than among the working class.

Unemployment and dependence on the public sector

Despite massive economic support by the government since at least the 1950s in order to decrease unemployment (SOU 1958:197; 1990:103, 46), the county of Norrbotten still has high unemployment, particularly in Pajala, Haparanda and Övertorneå municipalities. In 1954 unemployment aid to the Finnish-speaking area was ten times higher per capita than for the country as a whole (SOU 1958:197; cf. Håkansson 1978). Moreover, up to 40 per cent of money for public relief work in Norrbotten was spent in the Finnish-speaking municipalities; for instance in 1954–55 when 2500 persons in Sweden had temporary work with the government, 15–20 per cent of them lived in the Torne Valley (SOU 1958:197).[3] In 1988, 7.0 per cent of the workforce in

Norrbotten was employed by the Swedish Labour Market Board. The national average was 2.8 per cent. The percentage in Norrbotten was more than 40 per cent higher than the next highest in Sweden (AMS 1970–1988).

The expansion of the public sector in the region has caused higher employment rates for women than for men. In 1992 in Övertorneå municipality, 66.7 per cent of the males aged 20–64 were employed compared with 72.1 per cent of the females. The next lowest frequency in Norrbotten was in Pajala municipality with 66.4 per cent of males and 71.5 per cent of females employed (Fisk 1994:61, 67). The lowest was Haparanda with 61.2 per cent and 64.5 per cent respectively. The average for Norrbotten in 1992 was 76.1 per cent of males and 77.2 per cent of females. The figures for Sweden as a whole were 79.0 per cent of males and 77.9 per cent of females (Fisk 1994:61, 67). Haparanda, Övertorneå and Pajala were the only municipalities in Sweden with less than 70 per cent of the population in paid employment (Fisk 1994:61, 67).

The long term unemployment rates for the three municipalities were between 11.9 per cent and 13.2 per cent in 1995, i.e. the highest in Norrbotten (NB 1996:127). In addition, the employment measures are massive in the area. In 1995 these three municipalities had among the highest percentages in Norrbotten of people employed by the Labour Market Board, i.e. between 7.5 per cent and 8.4 per cent (NB 1996:95). Despite these efforts, unemployment in the three municipalities is the highest in Sweden.

Minority position and health

The effects of unemployment, ill health, poverty and other socio-economic conditions on life expectancy have been well documented (Diderichsen 1981; Ljungqvist 1996; Ferrada-Noli 1996). One effect of unemployment, and seemingly of the minority position as well, is that three of the five Finnish-speaking municipalities — Gällivare, Övertorneå and Haparanda — are among the nine municipalities in Sweden with the lowest life expectancy (DN 1995–09–22). The male inhabitants in Övertorneå live 3.7 years less than the national average (Fisk 1994:127). At the county level, males in Norrbotten had the shortest or second shortest life expectancy of all counties in Sweden between 1981 and 1993, i.e. 72.97 and 74.17 years (SCB 1992:3; SÅL 1995). Males in Pajala, Kiruna, Gällivare and Haparanda have a death rate significantly above average (SCB 1992:3). Females in Norrbotten are closer to the national average of life expectancy. However, it has also been claimed that the shorter life expectancy may be caused by genetic differences (Norrländsk uppslagsbok 1993:224, finnar).

The correlation between morbidity, socio-economic conditions and unemployment has been confirmed in a number of studies (Diderichsen and Janlert 1992; Diderichsen 1981). One such study examined Pajala municipality in relation to Kiruna. The higher morbidity rate in Pajala remained even when taking such factors as migration, socio-economic status, early retirement, unemployment and living conditions into consideration (Diderichsen and Janlert 1992). The effect of minority position, however, was not examined.

The shorter life expectancy correlates with the rate of illness of the Finnish-speaking population. Haparanda municipality has the highest rate of illness in the

whole of Sweden, i.e. 82.7 days/year/inhabitant. In addition, Pajala, Gällivare and Övertorneå municipalities are among the ten municipalities with the highest rate of illness, i.e. 58.7–67.9 days/year. The national average was 39.3 days in 1994 (Arbetsmiljö 1995). Norrbotten had the second highest rate of illness of all counties in Sweden between 1989 and 1993, i.e. 48.2 days/year/inhabitant (SÅL 1995). Consequently the county of Norrbotten has one of the highest health care costs of all counties in Sweden (HIS 1991–92; SÅL 1995; DN 27–10–95).

The long term effect of minority identity on health has not been investigated in Swedish social medicine research. However, sociologists in Finland, where there is positive discrimination in favour of the Swedish minority group, maintain that Swedes in Finland have better social status than the majority of the population (Hyyppä 1990), and numerous studies have shown that they have better health and greater life expectancy.

Cross-border marriages

Migration patterns

During the twentieth century Finnish immigration to Norrbotten, and especially to the Finnish-speaking region, has been massive. The Finns are overwhelmingly the dominant group of recent immigrants to Norrbotten and have always been an important part of the population of that county.

There are other immigrant groups of recent origin (Slunga and Heikkilä 1989), but the numbers of immigrants to Norrbotten other than Finns are small when compared with parts of southern Sweden. However, if we compare the Finns who have come as immigrants during this century as a proportion of the whole population, then parts of Norrbotten would have the highest proportion of immigrants in Sweden, as for example in the villages along the Finnish border and the mining towns of Kiruna, Svappavaara and Gällivare-Malmberget. In fact, Haparanda has the highest percentage of immigrants in the whole country, i.e. 36.1 per cent (25.6 per cent with foreign citizenship), and Övertorneå is fifth with 19.9 per cent of its inhabitants born abroad (10.5 per cent with foreign citizenship). The average for Sweden is 10.5 per cent (6.1 per cent with foreign citizenship). The average proportion of inhabitants born abroad for the five Finnish-speaking municipalities is about 16 per cent, compared with 7.3 per cent for the county of Norrbotten as a whole (SCB 1996; FNB 1994; Länst 1993).

However, the people of the Torne Valley do not define Finns as "real" immigrants, because they themselves are originally from Finland and because immigration from that country has occurred for centuries. If they talk about immigrants in general, they mean people who have come from elsewhere in Europe or from the rest of the world, but not Nordic citizens, and particularly not Finns.

Surplus of males in the Finnish-speaking municipalities

At least since the late 1940s there has been a net emigration by both males and females from the Finnish-speaking municipalities. However, because of a higher emigration rate by females there is a surplus of males. As early as the 1930s there was a surplus of males everywhere except in Haparanda where they were in minority and less

than the average for the whole country (SOU 1958:49). Females were more likely to leave the home village than males. This strong tendency was not only from the Finnish-speaking area to other parts of Sweden, but also within the Finnish-speaking municipalities (SOU 1958:46–7). It is not merely a question of prestige or type of work that forced females from the countryside. They had fewer opportunities to stay in the home village because by tradition they did not inherit the farm or the parents' property which in most cases were and are given to sons. This is why females move much more within the municipalities: 2290 males and 3596 females changed home village but stayed within the Finnish-speaking area between 1946 and 1955.

It is also one reason why it is predominantly females who move from Finland to the Swedish Torne Valley. For a long time females have predominated in immigration from Finland (SOU 1958:46). The imbalance in sexes in the Torne Valley was partly corrected by the predominance of females moving to the area from Finland: 528 males and 1612 females between 1946–1955 (SOU 1958:46–7). However, the net migration from Norrbotten has become more equal than in previous years; even partly positive for males (FlyttNB 1990:10).

In the Finnish-speaking municipalities of Övertorneå and Pajala and the Swedish-speaking municipality of Överkalix, the net decrease in the 20–24 age group was clearly dominated by females in the period 1968–82 (FlyttNB 1990:figures 9, 10). Before this Kiruna municipality had had slightly more males moving in, whereas Haparanda had had more females moving out. Gällivare municipality has had almost equal numbers since 1968 (FlyttNB 1990:figures 9, 10). This means that the municipalities have a surplus of unmarried males. Pajala in fact has the highest surplus of males in Sweden with 247 males per 100 females (NUTEK 1993:55). The lowest surplus of males in the five municipalities is in Gällivare, with 175 males per 100 females in 1990 (Länst 1993). The surplus of males is most typical in the two northernmost counties of Sweden (Lisk 1994:59).

There is also an imbalance in the sexes in cities because of the movement of females from the Finnish and Swedish countryside to the cities (FlyttNB 1990:8ff.). Urban areas in southern Sweden have the lowest surplus of unmarried males, about 104–115 males per 100 females in 1990 (Länst 1993).

Males probably find life in their original environment easier, possibly because they are more fond of hunting, fishing, forestry and agriculture, and perhaps because they also have a stronger feeling of alienation in a new environment. In addition, the tradition where the sons inherit the farms works in the same direction. Females may find the change of environment to living in towns easier to handle, and they may also be able to find more employment opportunities in traditionally female occupations. One other important factor in the movement of females from rural to urban life is possibly the higher prestige of city life and the lower prestige of Finnish. One possible explanation, regarded as common knowledge in the Torne Valley, for the high percentage of males in the Finnish-speaking region may be found in linguistic status. Females are thought to be more eager to leave linguistically low status environments.

The lack of females in rural areas is a well known phenomenon in many parts of Europe. When Bourdieu describes the life of a bachelor farmer in southern France this is also a picture of the Torne Valley. In earlier times rich farmers could find a wife, but the problem has increased, and more now remain bachelors (Broady 1990:246).

Cross-marriages in Norrbotten

Between 1930 and 1958 about 20 per cent of all marriages in the Torne Valley were cross-marriages with one spouse from Finland and the other from the Swedish Torne Valley (Jaakkola 1969:34). In almost all cases the female was from Finland. By contrast in cross-marriages in the Finnish Torne Valley only two of the informants in the 1966 study had wives from Sweden.

In the 1960s study 60 per cent of the inhabitants in Övertorneå municipality had relatives in Finland, while 80 per cent of the inhabitants in the Finnish Torne Valley had relatives in Sweden (Jaakkola 1969:34). About 17 per cent of the spouses in the Swedish sample were from Finland as well (Jaakkola 1969:35). About 25 per cent of all marriages in Matarenki were cross-marriages in 1966. The highest percentage was found in Kuivakangas, with 38 per cent of cross-marriages (Jaakkola 1973:140).

In cross-marriages it is frequently found that the wife is from Finland. One reason often given for this is that the economy is more developed in Sweden, and that the girls get engaged to a Swedish man for reasons of prestige (Jaakkola 1969:34). Furthermore, people on the Swedish side of the Torne River claim that Swedish women often do not wish to become the wife of a farmer, while it has been easier to find women in the Finnish countryside who enjoy farming.

According to one study, 21 per cent of the mothers of the children in the Finnish-speaking municipalities were born in Finland, whereas 12 per cent of the fathers were born in Finland (Cullblom 1992:table 11). In interviews with Finnish-speaking people in Norrbotten carried out by Radio Norrbotten, 35 per cent of the females and 18 per cent of the males were not born in Sweden (Gröndhal 1991:5).

Cross-marriages have been regarded by some official institutions as the main preserver of Finnish. For example, the district medical officer in Tärendö wrote to the National Medical Board of Administration in 1944 and requested that the cow houses should immediately be improved, because Swedish females were leaving the countryside because of the low standard of the cow houses. Finnish females replaced the Swedish ones and were invading the Swedish Torne Valley, according to the medical officer (DN 06–1944). The standard of cow houses thus hampered Swedicization and promoted maintenance of Finnish.

Trends in marriages across linguistic and cultural borders

Finnish female immigrants to Sweden tend to marry Swedish males rather than males born in Finland; 51 per cent and 43 per cent respectively; (SCB 1996).

It is often maintained by local people that a Swedish Tornedalian woman is more likely to marry a man from the Swedish-speaking area, e.g. from the municipalities of Överkalix and Kalix, than a Tornedalian man is to find a Swedish-speaking wife from the monolingual municipalities. This is explained by the fact that Swedish is regarded as higher in prestige and thus females would be more attracted to Swedish-speaking males. It is probably not a question of a wealthier living standard in the Swedish-speaking municipalities that causes the attraction, but perhaps more the minority member's wish to be a part of the high prestigious majority. A common opinion in the region maintained that a monolingual wife/husband is more attractive.

Swedish may possess greater prestige in other cross-marriages as well. If Swedish possesses higher prestige than Norwegian it could explain the predominance of Norwegian women married to Swedish men. Of Norwegian females living in Sweden 78 per cent are married to Swedish males, but only 16 per cent to males born in Norway (SCB 1996). This difference can, however, be explained from an employment perspective. It has perhaps been easier to find employment in typical female occupations, such as in the hospitals, along the Norwegian border.

Of the other immigrant groups in Sweden, Polish, German, Danish, Thai and Philippine females are overrepresented in marriages to Swedish males. However, female immigrants from Chile, Hungary, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Lebanon, and former Yugoslavia have an overwhelming preponderance of marriages to males from their home country (SCB 1996).

The Swedish spoken in Finland possesses prestige similar to that in the Torne Valley, although attitudes in Finland are more mixed and complex.[4] The Swedish-speaking men in bilingual Vasa in Finland during the 1930s were more keen to marry Finnish-speaking women than vice versa (Klövekorn 1960; Laurén 1981:7). During the early 1950s it was twice as common in cross-marriages for the women to be Finnish-speaking than Swedish-speaking. The same tendency was noticed during the 1950s in all the bilingual areas in Finland (Sirkka 1971:26–7) and is still a common feature of bilingual marriages (Fjällnäs 1995:28).

In bilingual families where the father was Swedish-speaking the children preferred Finnish as a first language in about 70 per cent of cases. In families where the mother was Swedish-speaking the language preference was almost equal (Laurén 1971:11). The tendency for children to be Swedish-speaking if the mother has Swedish as her mother tongue is stronger than in previous decades (Laurén 1981:43; Fjällnäs 1995:10). Even here prestige is used as one explanation of the imbalance in cross-marriages, despite the fact that the relative number of cross-marriages has increased (Fjällnäs 1995:28).[5]

In Finland these tendencies in the Swedish-speaking group are explained as a legacy of the time when it was a necessity for Finns to adopt the Swedish language to achieve upward mobility (Liebkind 1982:377, 405). The minority group maintained their former dominant position, whereas the monolingual Finns as a majority group could not rid themselves of their negative evaluation of themselves in relation to the Swedish-speaking group, even after some centuries. Thus attitudes which at an earlier time had an economic value can be transmitted to later generations as an irrational need for social subordination.

A similar tendency is noticed in other bilingual countries. All over Canada and especially in Québec there is the same tendency for Francophone females to be overrepresented in mixed marriages with Anglophones. For instance in Québec in 1961, in 26 059 marriages the wife was of French origin and the husband of English origin, whereas in 20 383 marriages the reverse was true (de Vries et al. 1985:table 44). In mixed marriages there is also the same tendency as in Finland for the mother's sensitivity towards the prestige language to be the deciding factor when choosing the language the children would be educated in. For instance, in the bilingual community of Welland, Ontario, Canada, where Francophones make up about 17 per cent of the population, 52 per cent of the children with a Francophone mother chose a French school, whereas 77 per cent of the children with an Anglophone mother chose the

English school (Mougeon 1977). However, since the Francophone movement started in the early 1960s the statistics may have changed.

We can conclude that Swedish-speaking monolinguals in the Torne Valley in general had the highest prestige, followed by bilinguals, with the Finnish-speaking group at the bottom (Jaakkola 1969:129). The hierarchical order in gender and attractiveness should be that females from Finland were lowest, Tornedalian females were on a fairly equal basis as compared with Tornedalian males, while monolingual Swedish-speaking females possessed the highest prestige. This is seen from a Tornedalian male perspective. These attitudes were common during the 1960s and 1970s when nearly all Tornedalians were bilinguals, and the Finnish-speaking group were immigrants. It is possible, however, that the attitudes are transmitted as a social legacy to the mainly monolingual Tornedalians.

Immigration from Finland continues and cross-marriages in the villages along the Swedish–Finnish border are still numerous. Mostly the female is from Finland, but according to a number of informants the predominance of females is slowly declining and being replaced with a growing number of males from Finland and Swedish females who move over to Finland. This is probably partly due to the fact that the gap between the Finnish and Swedish economies is narrowing, but also due to redefinition of the Finnish immigrants' status in relation to newer immigrants from Asia and Africa. Any change in cross-marriages should reflect the increased status of Tornedalen Finnish.

Summary

The population on the Swedish and Finnish sides of the Torne River was nearly equal until 1940. Since then the Finnish side has had more inhabitants. One reason for this difference might be found in the minority position of the Swedish Tornedalians. Unemployment correlated with bilingualism in the 1960s. The area has for a long time received massive economic support from the government. Despite this, unemployment is still much higher than the national average. More females than males are employed, probably due to the higher percentage of women working in the public sector. However, since the early 1990s there have been massive cuts in expenditure in the public sector, which may have changed the imbalance in unemployment rates.

The minority position has caused other social problems such as shorter life expectancy and higher rates of illness. The county of Norrbotten often has the highest costs for unemployment and health care of all counties in Sweden. Tornedalians have almost the lowest income in Sweden and the lowest in Norrbotten.

Today about 20 000–40 000 are bilinguals, principally those who are older than 25–35, of a total population of 267 647 in Norrbotten, and 73 979 in the five Finnish-speaking municipalities. In addition, a great number of Finnish immigrants and former Finnish citizens have moved to Norrbotten, mainly to Haparanda and Övertorneå municipalities. Haparanda has by far the highest numbers of immigrants of all municipalities in Sweden, i.e. 36.1 per cent. Övertorneå is fifth with 19.9 per cent of its population born abroad.

Because of migration of females from the area, to seek employment or to move to higher status areas, there is a surplus of males. This imbalance has been partly redressed by immigration of females from Finland. The tradition of cross-marriages

between Swedish and Finnish speakers promotes the maintenance of Finnish. In families with one spouse from Finland, Finnish is more common in all age groups.

Notes

[1] According to some informants the Finnish of the newcomers has had a strong impact on the local variety. One attitude is that there is better Finnish in Matarenki. However, a more precise description is being undertaken by Heikki Paunonen at Tampere University, Finland.

[2] Seven to eight Swedish krona is roughly one American dollar; 1 European currency unit (ECU) is about 8.70 SEK.

[3] In Sweden unemployment is balanced by employment measures carried out by the national Labour Market Board (AMS). In practice this means that unemployed people are offered different kinds of short-term jobs with fairly low salaries. This public relief work must not compete with the normal labour market and therefore these jobs are mostly offered with non-profit organizations, or doing environmental work, or within the public sector. Many unemployed people have never held other jobs. They have only worked for the Labour Market Board.

[4] Sweden ruled Finland for about 600 years between the thirteenth century and 1809, and during that time Swedes constituted the upper class of Finland. Finnish was rarely used in public. Swedish and Latin were the official languages of Finland up to about 1850, when Finnish began to expand into the public field. The subordinated position of Finnish speakers caused an unequal distribution of linguistic status, which still remains to some extent.

[5] If linguistic attitudes reflect the gender direction in marriages between different language speakers then it should explain why many Finnish Canadians argue that Finnish females tend to marry Canadian males.

CHAPTER 4

TORNEDALEN FINNISH IN EDUCATION

Finnish as a subject in the 1960s and 1970s

> "Do not put Finnish children together in one class. Then they just speak Finnish. Do not let them form groups in the school yard." Directive from the Board of Education 1964.

The general rules for education are set out in the Board of Education's curriculum. Until autumn 1963 there was no possibility of studying Finnish in elementary school. The first new direction was laid in the curriculum of 1962: "In a municipality with any Finnish speakers Finnish may be included as an optional subject and replace another subject in the optional groups 7 ... with 2–3 hours/week and 8 ... with 2 hours/week." This gave Tornedalians the possibility of studying Finnish in grades 7 and 8, but not earlier. However, this option had one important consequence. Those who chose Finnish were excluded from entrance to gymnasium, because this had a prerequisite of 5 hours/week of a second foreign language. Very few if any took up this option because of its consequences (Pekkari 1994c; Slunga and Heikkilä 1989).

A note on instruction was added to the curriculum of 1962 that Finnish should be on a par with Danish and Norwegian in "applicable parts". The next curriculum of 1969 relied upon that additional note, which was later an important sentence for home language reform. This was the first time that the term "home language" was used in a curriculum. The sentence about Finnish instruction became the guideline regarding instruction in any home language in the 1969 curriculum, according to the former school inspector Karl Pekkari (oral information). The Board of Education wrote in their directions and comments that this option should apply to every minority language. In the curriculum of 1969 it was possible to choose Finnish as a subject in primary school in every class and at every level for 1–2 hours/week while retaining the right to enter gymnasium. If chosen, the subject replaced other compulsory or optional subjects and was given full value (Slunga 1986b). The Finnish-speaking municipalities were especially mentioned: "In districts with Finnish-speaking population and with access to Finnish-speaking teachers Finnish should be given particular attention" (Curriculum 1969, quoted in Slunga 1986a). The new approach was put into practice in 1970. It was now possible to choose Finnish as a home language for 1–2 hours/week in grades 1–6, replacing other compulsory subjects. In grades 7–9 Finnish was a complementary optional subject for 1–2 hours/week, replacing other optional subjects. At the beginning in 1970–71 Finnish as a home language gained 313 pupils in the five Finnish-speaking municipalities (Pekkari 1991).

In addition, the government gave the County Board of Education in Norrbotten the right to have Finnish for up to 3–4 hours/week as an optional subject during an experimental period from 1974 to 1977 (Kenttä 1975; Pekkari 1976, 1994c). However,

Finnish as an optional subject did not attract pupils; for instance in the 1974–75 school year no pupils, and in 1975–76 only 14 pupils, in primary school chose Finnish in the whole county (Pekkari 1976). One reason for the low interest in the optional subject was that the pupils preferred Finnish in the home language option and could thus choose another subject in the optional choice.

Home language instruction since 1970

Since 1970 it has been possible to study Standard Finnish and, since the late 1970s, Tornedalen Finnish as a home language in primary and secondary school.

The home language reform was proposed in 1975, decided on in 1976, and put into practice in 1977. Every pupil who had a language other than Swedish as a home language could request home language instruction according to need in primary and secondary school.

In the curriculum of 1980 home language instruction was expanded and could be studied as an optional subject in grades 7–9; each school decided the number of hours for each grade, but it was not to be more than a total of 11 hours/week for all grades (Slunga and Heikkilä 1989; Pekkari 1994c). The home language was stressed in importance and was linked to the pupil's cultural heritage and social identity (Pekkari 1994c): "The human's language is closely linked to her personality and life situation. If this linkage is broken the development of both language and personality is hampered ... The goal is that the pupils will, can and dare to use their home language in different situations" (quoted in Pekkari 1991).

The first restriction on the general right to attend home language instruction occurred in 1985. Until then the requirement had been just that "the other language [should be] a living part of the home milieu" (Slunga 1986b). From 1985 home language was defined as the "everyday language of conversation at home" (Slunga 1986b; Skollagen 1993:144). Pupils could no longer request home language instruction if they did not speak the language themselves, even if their parents spoke it. In that way many second generation Sweden Finns lost the possibility of studying their home language. The new restricted regulation made one exception, for three languages that were regarded as national minority languages in Sweden. This exception, an addition to the home language reform of 1977, stated in 1988 that "a Sami, Romany or Tornedalian pupil has, however, the right to receive home language instruction in their own language, even if it is not an everyday language in the social life at home of the pupil" (SFS 1988:655; Skollagen 1993:144).

The second restriction came in 1991. Until that year it was enough for only one pupil to request home language instruction. Since 1991 the government's policy has required at least five pupils in each home language class (Kulturutskottets betänkande 1991–92:KrU8:4). However, even this restriction does not apply for the three national minority languages (Skollagen 1993:144; Pekkari 1994c).

Tornedalians thus gained the right to study and request Finnish instruction as a home language. They can study Finnish/Tornedalen Finnish independently of the actual mother tongue or the language spoken at home. Furthermore, there is no particular requirement that the language must be a living part of the environment. Thus a Tornedalian anywhere in the country can request Finnish as a home language

(Pekkari 1994c). The definition of a Tornedalian is one who speaks or understands Finnish, or who by origin belongs to the group of inhabitants of the Torne Valley. The child can signify him/herself as a Tornedalian if just one of the parents is a Tornedalian (Slunga and Heikkilä 1989). In practice probably very few have used the regulation outside the county of Norrbotten.

The economic foundation for home language instruction has changed, however. In the beginning the municipalities were given good resources for home language instruction. From 1 July 1977 every municipality received 1.1 teacher hours/pupil in primary school, and 0.75 teacher hour/pupil in gymnasium. This meant in practice that the municipalities often received much more money for home language instruction than they could spend.

In 1991 the government greatly reduced the grants, and put money formerly earmarked for home language instruction into the same pool as other school expenses (FIS 1993). This decision to put earmarked money into a single pool was an implicit request to decrease home language instruction.

New regulations were put into practice in July 1994. The curriculum for home languages is designed so that the subject can be studied according to the pupil's personal interest. In addition, Finnish can be studied after 7th grade as an alternative to a B language (optional second language in which pupils have some competence). The teaching hours for language instruction are put into one block, and the total time is decided by the local school authorities (Skollagen 1993:155). In addition, the home language is placed in four different timetable blocks: as a language choice, the choice of the pupil, in the framework of the school plan, or outside the normal school schedule (Skollagen 1993:159). An additional restriction requires that if the home language is taken outside the normal schedule, it cannot be taken for more than seven years during primary school. However, even this does not apply to Tornedalian, Romany or Sami pupils (Skollagen 1993:160). The new regulation leaves a number of opportunities for each particular municipality to decide what status the home language should have, and which subjects it should compete with.

One important difference in the new regulations is that Tornedalen Finnish is mentioned in the background material for the first time as a separate language from Finnish. Finnish is the term used in the new regulation, but in practice it includes Tornedalen Finnish. Thus, from 1994 onwards it has been possible to study Tornedalen Finnish as either a B language or C language (at beginner level) in gymnasium for 60 or 130 clock hour/credits in the language block. Finnish as a home language can be studied at three different levels for between 30–100 clock hour/credits (Pekkari 1994c).

Standard Finnish and Tornedalen Finnish in home language instruction

In home language instruction the pupils have some choice between Standard Finnish and Tornedalen Finnish. However, there has not yet been any explicit division between these two varieties, e.g. all pupils who receive Standard Finnish and Tornedalen Finnish as a home language are counted in one statistical group. This practice arises from

a report from the Royal Commission to the government in 1983 suggesting that Tornedalen Finnish is a sub-variety of Standard Finnish (SOU 1983).

Each home language teacher decides the method of instruction, together with the parents and headmaster. Tornedalen Finnish is mainly used for pedagogical reasons and for its importance in the culture. Some teachers speak Tornedalen Finnish and teach Standard Finnish in writing and grammar, while others mainly use Tornedalen Finnish and compare it with Standard Finnish. It is often a question of attitude towards Tornedalen Finnish which predicts which way it is used.

Tornedalen Finnish is sometimes the medium of instruction for Standard Finnish as a subject in some classes but because the pupils' vocabulary in Tornedalen Finnish is too narrow, Swedish is mostly used as the medium of instruction. There is hardly any instruction purely in Tornedalen Finnish; the subject is often Standard Finnish or a mixed situation. One explanation for the difference between the medium language and target language, according to some teachers in Matarenki, is that there is a lack of appropriate schoolbooks in Tornedalen Finnish.

Especially in the villages many parents want to have Tornedalen Finnish as the first language of instruction and later compare it with Standard Finnish. In Pajala and the villages nearby many home language teachers speak Tornedalen Finnish but write in Standard Finnish. However, many want to have Standard Finnish even in speech and thus some home language classes are separated into two (Lampa, former headmaster at Pajala, orally). On the other hand, in Matarenki many parents claim that it is better to study Standard Finnish, because of its greater practical and intellectual value. Their linguistic behaviour, however, differs from their attitudes. With one exception, families in Matarenki in which both parents were born in Sweden have no children participating in home language instruction, at least not in the junior and intermediate levels in 1991.

There is no education purely in Tornedalen Finnish in Matarenki, mainly because all the pupils in the village who attended home language instruction in 1991 had one or both parents from Finland, and they wanted to receive instruction in Standard Finnish. Both home language teachers were from the Finnish Torne Valley. One of them spoke the Tornedalen Finnish spoken in Finland with the pupils.

Instruction in Tornedalen Finnish

Historical background

"In Sweden we speak Swedish." (A teacher in Kainulasjärvi, 1964; said in Swedish.)

Attitudes among Tornedalians towards Tornedalen Finnish and Standard Finnish during this century have to a great extent been hostile. Strong resistance to education in Finnish has emerged during different periods this century, often from local authorities, teachers, priests, local newspapers and middle class people in general, and always supported by the government's policy (SOU 1921; Tenerz 1963; Kenttä and Weinz 1968). As long ago as 1919 the majority of teachers and priests in the Torne Valley wanted to abolish Finnish completely even as an auxiliary language in school. One argument for this was that Tornedalen Finnish — as it was already termed at that time — was too

restricted in vocabulary and could not be a subject in its own right. Standard Finnish, on the other hand, was recognized as different from Tornedalen Finnish. Instruction in Standard Finnish would therefore lead to the situation that the pupils would be forced to learn three different languages. According to an investigation few parents resisted this policy, but no survey of public opinion was carried out (SOU 1921:103).

However, general opinion towards Tornedalen Finnish within the minority is a direct reflection of the persistent work of the government in Swedicizing the Finnish-speaking municipalities. As long as no intellectual or cultural movement resisted this language policy it would be strange if the Tornedalians, without any organization to preserve their culture, were to oppose the dictates of the majority and take on responsibility for having Tornedalen Finnish/Finnish made part of compulsory education.

During the 1960s many nations focused their attention on the social and linguistic conditions of minorities and bilinguals. The national Board of Education commissioned an investigation of the situation in the Torne Valley, conducted by a teacher, Matti Kenttä, and an inspector of the County Board of Education, the late Erik Weinz (Kenttä and Weinz 1968). Both were members of the minority, who still accepted the prevailing ideas on the bilingual problem. The intention of the investigation was to draw up guidelines for a new language policy in which Finnish would be considered. It is telling to read the conclusions of the investigation of attitudes. After several decades of repressive language policy Tornedalians were given the possibility of taking responsibility for defining the language policy they wanted to have. Using a very extensive questionnaire in Swedish and, if needed, in Standard Finnish their attitudes were collected in 1967. It was concluded that the Tornedalians were hostile towards compulsory instruction in Finnish. However, 50 per cent of the population accepted the idea of voluntary education (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:29). But the official debate on bilingualism during the 1960s in many Western societies did not engage the interest of parents, teachers, headmasters, directors of studies or local education authorities in suggesting new and better plans to develop the bilingual society. In general they were indifferent and passive to new ideas (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:37). The investigators were confused by the indifference and compared it with the great engagement in other educational fields — but had no answer. Furthermore, it is often maintained by Tornedalians that they have no spirit to maintain their own culture. This indifferent attitude can very well result in a community attitude of low self esteem whereby the community wants to be fully assimilated into the majority culture.

The conclusions probably reflected the effect of the language policy of the time rather than the possibility of the minority group taking responsibility for its own cultural survival. They probably also showed lack of awareness of the importance of having a positively reinforced self identity: a repressed group cannot take responsibility for its own social identity as long as it reflects the dominant group's perspective on its identity. No-one can comprehend the consequences in thoughts, attitudes and practice of a stigmatized social identity if they have not been liberated from it through a conscious change of social habits. Certainly similar effects would occur if a similar compulsory subject were to be prohibited for some decades in schools and especially if this was supported by middle class society. An officially despised culture will lead to a

self despising minority. What other results can be expected after 80 years of social repression of a homogeneous and poorly educated people?

The Tornedalians naturally wanted to learn Swedish as well as all other Swedes learnt it, but the importance of learning only Swedish was greatly exaggerated. The majority of Tornedalians had Finnish as their mother tongue until the late 1950s. In 1945, 72 per cent were regarded as monolinguals in Finnish; by 1957 38 per cent and by 1966 only 14 per cent were monolingual in Finnish (Jaakkola 1973:55). (These numbers, however, are probably lower than the actual competence because of the stigma of being a monolingual in Finnish.) The Finnish predominance decreased rapidly during the 1950s and was replaced by Swedish. The shame of not being able to speak, read or write "proper" Swedish caused emotional and irrational views on Finnish education. Hence it created the idea that Finnish competence was without any cultural, intellectual or practical value and only a problem when learning adequate Swedish.

One explanation for the resistance to Finnish education was that everybody could already speak Tornedalen Finnish, so there was no need to teach Finnish in school (Tenerz 1963; Slunga 1965). However, among the local inhabitants some resistance occurred to the former Swedicization policy in schools, despite the fear of being accused of being traitors to their country (SOU 1921:391).

Tornedalen Finnish in home language instruction

The study by Kenttä and Weinz was probably one contributing factor in the establishment of home language instruction in 1970. Their work was, however, a result of the ongoing debate among immigrant organizations on the importance of instruction in the home language and the belief that bilingual pupils should be literate in both languages. The strongest pressure to change the monolingual schooling system came from immigrant organizations, especially Sweden Finns (Finns other than Tornedalians living in Sweden) and Estonians in Sweden. Their critique of the curriculum led to an investigation carried out by a Royal Commission which proposed changes in the schooling system (SOU 1966:55). The introduction of home language instruction is basically a result of their lobbying during the 1960s and of the debate on semilingualism (Widgren 1982). Very typical of the government's standpoint is the fact that the Royal Commission did not even mention the domestic minorities and that the government did not set up a Royal Commission to report on their particular problems. The schooling problem of domestic minorities fell into the same category as immigrants. This became a typical general policy of the Swedish Parliament. Nevertheless, this led to a government bill which discussed the issue and proposed a new direction (Prop 1968:67).

When the County Board of Education started to promote Tornedalen Finnish it followed from the very beginning the old idea of a write-as-you-speak pedagogy. Weinz argued in 1970 that instruction should start in Tornedalen Finnish, or the language that the children recognized: "Especially in the beginning one should not try to teach the children the correct Standard Finnish forms of everyday words — such as *minä* 'I', *sinä* 'you', *ladossa* 'in the barn' and so forth — but the dialect forms should be used — e.g. *mie* and *laossa*"; "More haste, less speed in order not to hamper the children's spontaneous speech flow"; "In the beginning the correction [of written text] should be

cautious. If the text form does not coincide with the pupil's spoken language and the Finnish spelling rules, there is no reason in the first stages to be too precise. *En mie tiä* ['I don't know'] can very well be accepted instead of *en minä tiedä* and *tooli* ['chair'] instead of *tuoli*" (Weinz 1970).

These ideas were merely reflections of the ongoing debate on the difference between a Standard language and a variety. Österberg (1961) had published his thesis on bilingual Swedes who spoke a local variety and Standard Swedish. He stressed the importance of instruction in the local variety and a move towards the normative language. In the early 1970s scholars discussed the concept of semilingualism in the Torne Valley and argued partly for the local variety as a language of instruction during the first years of schooling. However, the idea of Tornedalen Finnish as a language in its own right even in a spoken form was rejected due to the small number of speakers and the lack of literature in the language (Wrede 1974).

The target language was Standard Finnish in home language instruction and it was also often used as the language of instruction. Therefore the guideline for home language teachers was that they should slowly abolish the local dialect. They should start to translate the loans and abolish the phonological and morphological differences. Then they should pay attention to the Swedicisms. These include such examples of the influence of Swedish on Tornedalen Finnish as *mie häyn lähteä* 'I must go' (with the subject in the nominative case as in Swedish, but *häyn* in Tornedalen Finnish) instead of Standard Finnish *minun täytyy lähteä* (with the subject in the genitive case); and *mie aattelen hänen päältä* 'I think about him' (which seems to be a direct translation of the Swedish *jag tänker på honom*) instead of *minä ajattelen häntä* (Weinz 1970). The goals were far reaching. As early as grades 1–2 the pupils should be made aware of the loans and some of the Swedicisms. In grades 3–4 they could start to read Standard Finnish textbooks.

The number of pupils grew rapidly the first years after the introduction of Finnish (Slunga 1989:appendix 1). However, the numbers did not increase as fast as was expected; many Finnish-speaking pupils did not want to read Finnish. The County Board of Education investigated the situation and tried to find why interest was not increasing more rapidly and in some villages was even decreasing. Was it because of the lack of proper textbooks and teaching aids? The instruction books were all bought in Finland and were suitable for Finns living in Finland who had Finnish as a compulsory subject. Or had the teachers not followed the instruction to follow the write-as-you-speak pedagogy which they were advised to use? One problem with write-as-you-speak pedagogy was that the home language teachers were mainly from Finland and had little experience of instruction in Finnish in a foreign country with its particular problems. They could not speak or adapt to the local language.

In practice Standard Finnish was first used everywhere, despite other instructions from the County Board of Education. According to the Board the pupils complained that the home language they were taught was not their home language, and the teachers maintained that they could not instruct in Tornedalen Finnish because of the lack of teaching materials in it. In spring 1977 the special teacher Irja Junes from Tornio was employed as a consultant to the County Board of Education. She also stressed the importance of starting with the local language and using the local history to explain the language, i.e. information should be context bound. Therefore she argued that the

teaching materials should be different and that the teachers should have a good knowledge of the local language. Furthermore she saw a need for information for teachers and parents on bilingualism and the alleged semilingualism that was associated with Norrbotten (Junes 1977). Matti Kenttä partly followed this principle when he was employed in 1978 as a consultant with the mission of fulfilling the directions given by the County Board of Education (Pekkari 1991). Kenttä visited a number of schools in the five Finnish-speaking municipalities and tried to inform the parents and home language teachers at each local school how the home language should be taught (Pekkari 1994a, 1994b).

Kenttä noticed that the percentage of pupils attending home language instruction declined from 1978 to 1979, despite the fact that the new definition of home language caused increased numbers of pupils with Finnish as a home language. Furthermore, he noticed that children who spoke fluent Tornedalen Finnish generally had lower school marks than Finnish immigrant children and were alienated from Standard Finnish (Kenttä 1980). He suggested as a solution that pupils from Swedish Tornedalian families should be separated in home language instruction from Finnish immigrant pupils. This focused more attention on Tornedalen Finnish and the differences from Standard Finnish.

A common reason for the lack of interest in the home language among the parents who had their children in home language instruction was that their children did not understand Standard Finnish as a medium or target language. The County Board of Education informed the County Administrative Board that the Finnish immigrants and immigrants in general were more interested in their minority language than the Tornedalians were. Furthermore, the Finnish immigrants spoke another language and had other attitudes which could create conflicts with the "original linguistic minority" and repress their needs (SOU 1983:170). One reason for this difference in interest was obviously attitudes towards the mother tongue. Immigrants in general had no direct experience of having their mother tongue undervalued by the government.

The pedagogic conclusion was that the teachers should instruct in the spoken language and slowly move towards Standard Finnish. After the County Board of Education decided to maintain Tornedalen Finnish as a subject the numbers of participating pupils slowly increased (Slunga and Heikkilä 1989). However the separation of Finnish immigrants from original Tornedalian pupils (SOU 1983:255) could not be strictly applied due to the small numbers of pupils in each particular school. In 1977 the first instruction materials adapted for the Tornedalians were compiled by the County Board of Education.

Another more tempting explanation for the increasing number of pupils attending home language instruction was the new principle of home language grants that was introduced in 1977 whereby the municipalities received funding according to the number of pupils. The municipalities thus had an economic motive to attract pupils in the late 1970s. Often they received more funding than they could spend on home language instruction.

The old pedagogic principle of starting from the familiar and moving to the unknown was one of the main sources of the debate on the status of Tornedalen Finnish. Another influence came from the ideas of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association whose demands were in reality an extension of the path laid by the County

Board of Education during the late 1970s. But this revival movement was run by young independent idealists and therefore the local language for the first time had a link with and support among well educated local people. During the 1980s the Swedish Tornedalians' Association stressed that Tornedalen Finnish is a language in its own right. From these ideas the establishment of a language emerged.

Another impact of the demand for Tornedalen Finnish is seen in attitudes towards Finland and Finland Finnish. The parents wanted to emphasize the difference between Finland and the Swedish Torne Valley. From this perspective one can better understand the alleged problems in understanding and speaking Finland Finnish. Some jokes were told illustrating the linguistic problem: a Tornedalian man claims that his monolingual wife finds it easier to get along in Finland with her Swedish than he does with his Finnish.

The immigrant and minority policy of the Swedish Parliament underwent a rapid change during the 1970s and early 1980s. The government set up an investigation in the early 1980s into the linguistic and cultural minorities in Sweden. Besides immigrant issues, it discussed briefly the linguistic situation in the Torne Valley. It suggested that the government should support Tornedalen Finnish, but that Tornedalen Finnish should not be considered as separate from Standard Finnish. The subject should be termed Finnish, but Tornedalen Finnish should be considered especially in the beginning. Instruction should proceed from Tornedalen Finnish and move towards Standard Finnish (SOU 1983:255). Thus the position of the Royal Commission was the same as that held by County Board of Education in Norrbotten in the early 1970s.

The report laid the basis for the support of Tornedalen Finnish in home language instruction. However, it is already out of date. Now it partly works as one restraining factor for the cultural development of Tornedalen Finnish and the Torne Valley as a whole.

Sami in education: a comparison

In Sweden and especially in Norrbotten there is another national minority which has had a different relationship with the Swedish Parliament and therefore a different form of schooling system.

Sami have legal rights to consider themselves as a native minority. They have fairly extensive economic support, compared with other groups, within a number of cultural domains such as television, radio, publishing, linguistic activity, theatre, etc. Since 1976 the right of ethnic minorities to maintain their culture is explicitly mentioned and protected in the Swedish constitution. The Sami are, nevertheless, not identified separately from other native minorities in the constitution despite their position as an indigenous people.

Education in Sami started as an old religious idea that the word of God would more easily reach the pagans and change their minds if it was transmitted in their mother tongue. Luther's belief that the language of the people, rather than Latin, should be

used spread this idea all over Europe. The Sami translation of the Bible and the idea of instructing in the mother tongue was mainly a matter for the church.

As long ago as the sixteenth century there was a demand from the Swedish king Johan III that priests working in Kemi and Torne Lapplands in northern Sweden and Finland should be able to speak Sami. A regulation of 1723 required that the Sami should be instructed in their own language (Slunga 1965:12). The reason was that earlier attempts to instruct in Swedish had failed. It seems that the priests in their attempts to Christianize the Sami learned to speak their language. Another approach — probably a modern method at that time — was to "educate" Sami to become priests. In 1606, 16 Sami youths were forced to move to Uppsala in order to study theology. Most of them escaped while travelling to their destination, but seven arrived at Uppsala. None of them became a priest (SOU 1975:100; SOU 1990:91, 72).

Sami had religious scripts and lexicons in the mother tongue from early times. The first ABC book and a hymn book in Sami were published in Sweden in 1619 (Haetta 1992). In 1648 Tornaeus described the different Sami language varieties in a service book, *Manuale Lapponicum*. The New Testament was translated into South Sami in 1755, and some years later, in 1780, the first dictionary, *Lexicon Lapponicum*, was published (Korhonen 1976; Wingstedt 1996).

However, in practice Finnish became the predominant language of the priests in education and religious instruction (Forsgren 1990:32), probably because of the number of Sami varieties, the lack of interest in learning Sami, and the fact that many Sami were able to understand Finnish. In 1741 and 1751 instructions were issued requiring Finnish books to be used in schooling and in prayers (Slunga 1965:12–13). These were based on the assumption that the Sami were bilinguals and that they wanted to keep Finnish as the language of instruction (Slunga 1993:300–1). This laid the ground for the spread of Finnish competence and decreased proficiency in Sami.

In 1723 seven Lapp schools, or so called church schools, were established with Sami as a language of instruction. Their main purpose was to Christianize the population. However, only a small number of Sami had access to these missionary schools, and in Torne Lappland the main language is said to have been Finnish. A proper school for Sami was established in 1896 and aimed to be similar to the elementary school for Swedes. Sami and Finnish were only used as auxiliary languages in this school, and Swedish was meant to completely replace them in the two last years of a total of five years of school. These types of schools were only two of five ongoing types at the beginning of the twentieth century. In all five school types Swedish was the language of instruction, except in Karesuando and Jukkasjärvi where Finnish was used. Sami was used when necessary as an auxiliary language (SOU 1990:91, 76).

In 1913 the nomad school replaced all other types of schools for non-settled Sami families. This type of school, which had only Swedish as the language of instruction, existed until 1962. Since then the present type of school has been called the Sami school. Sami pupils can choose between ordinary primary school or the Sami school

in grades 1–6. Sami is a subject and is also used as a language of instruction. However, Swedish is the dominant language of instruction. The Sami component has decreased in past decades due to the weakened position of Sami in family life in the Swedish Sami community. The present Sami school has great problems with Sami as a language of instruction. Of a number of problems the most basic ones are: lack of competent teachers; lack of teaching aids; difficulty in establishing a single orthography due to the number of different orthographies, at least one devised by a number of linguists studying Sami for each of the five varieties of Sami; difficulty in unifying the different varieties, etc. Some Sami scholars have therefore described the present type of school, as well as the earlier ones, as basically assimilation schools which aim to replace Sami with Swedish — so called transition schools (Hyltenstam and Stroud 1990:134–5). In addition, few attend the Sami schools. In 1975 only about 5 per cent of Sami school children attended Sami schools (Kvist 1994).

The former idea of Sami as a language of instruction had been based on the belief that it was easier to convert the Sami from paganism to Christianity if the priests could speak the language of the native inhabitants. During a transition period in the late nineteenth century another idea was embraced by Swedish authorities: "Lapp should be Lapp." Their culture should be preserved, not only as an end in itself but also as a response to racial ideas (Kvist 1994); it was often assumed that Lapps constituted an inferior race (e.g. Erikson and Niemi 1988). This ideology of preserving the culture was part of the overall ideology of social Darwinism which influenced attitudes and school policy towards every minority, but indigenous people in particular.

Home language instruction in Norrbotten

Enrolments in Finnish studies

In 1966 only 5 per cent of informants in the survey had studied Finnish in some course or had it as an optional subject in school (Jaakkola 1973:82).

In the 1991–92 survey about 10–15 per cent had studied Finnish in primary school, but only one person in this survey — a girl from Matarenki — with both parents from Sweden studied Finnish as a home language 1991. According to another study 72 per cent of the pupils in Övertorneå who had studied Finnish in primary school or gymnasium had one or both parents from Finland (Cullblom 1992:table 15). It is claimed that of pupils in the Kiruna and Pajala municipalities who attend Finnish instruction as a voluntary subject, 49 per cent and 66 per cent respectively have Swedish Tornedalian parents. Finnish influence is, naturally, more extensive in the Övertorneå and Haparanda municipalities.

Of the informants 31 per cent in Matarenki and 25 per cent in Aapua had studied Finnish in gymnasium, university or some other language course. Many Tornedalians take part as adults in Finnish language courses, especially the summer courses arranged

by the Föreningen Norden, a Nordic union which has held summer courses in Finland since the 1950s. As adults the national citizenship of the parents is not decisive for studies in Finnish.

Enrolments in home languages in primary school

Norrbotten had 7175 pupils (24 per cent) in 1988–89 with a home language other than Swedish. Of these pupils 2679, or 37 per cent, attended home language instruction. Of the total of 7175, 6453 pupils, or 90 per cent, have Finnish as a home language. Of these 6453 pupils, 2392, or 37 per cent, attended instruction in Finnish. The total number of Finnish lessons with teacher instruction was 76 247 (Slunga 1989:preface, appendix 11). In 1994–95 there were 5491 pupils in primary school in Norrbotten who had Finnish as a home language; 1939 or 35 per cent used the opportunity in primary school to attend Finnish lessons (SCB 1995). The percentage in home language attendance is fairly stable compared with national figures, but lower than the national average partly due to the different regulations.

The second largest home language is Sami, claimed by 365 pupils as a home language in 1987–88 but only 230 in 1988–89. About 40 per cent of these obtained Sami home language instruction in primary school (Slunga 1989:appendix 4). In 1993–94 108 pupils from the five Finnish-speaking municipalities studied Sami as a home language, instructed by eight home language teachers with a total of 70.5 teaching periods/week. Gällivare municipality had 40 pupils and Kiruna municipality had 156 who claimed to have Sami as a home language, with none in Pajala, Övertorneå or Haparanda municipalities (SCB 1994).

There are no separate figures on how many pupils study Tornedalen Finnish in school. They are all counted in the total for Finnish instruction.

Participation rates

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the situation of home language instruction in the Torne valley. In 1994–95, 34 per cent of the children who have been acknowledged as having Finnish as another language in their environment received voluntary home language instruction, normally 1–2 periods/week and in general in primary school (grades 1–9) (SCB 1995). In general there was little interest in expanding the courses. In absolute numbers there were 7771 pupils in primary school in the five Finnish-speaking municipalities. Of those 4441 were known to have Finnish as a home language. Of the 4441 pupils, 1509 received home language instruction in Tornedalen Finnish or Standard Finnish in 1993–94 (SCB 1994). The numbers have in general been slowly declining, with around 1500 pupils in recent years. These are the lowest since 1980–81 when 1387 studied their home language (Slunga and Heikkilä 1989:table 1). The main decline has been in Kiruna and Haparanda. In Pajala and Övertorneå there has been a slow increase or fairly stable numbers over the previous decade. In Gällivare the num-

bers were the highest ever in 1993, and have been steadily growing (SCB 1994). This could reflect an attitudinal change.

The total number of home language teachers in autumn 1993 was 51. They had 438 teaching periods/week including student counselling (SCB 1994).

Figure 4. Total attendance in home language instruction in the five Finnish-speaking municipalities

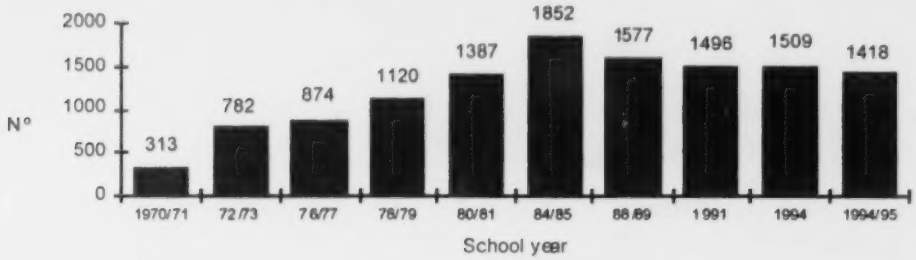
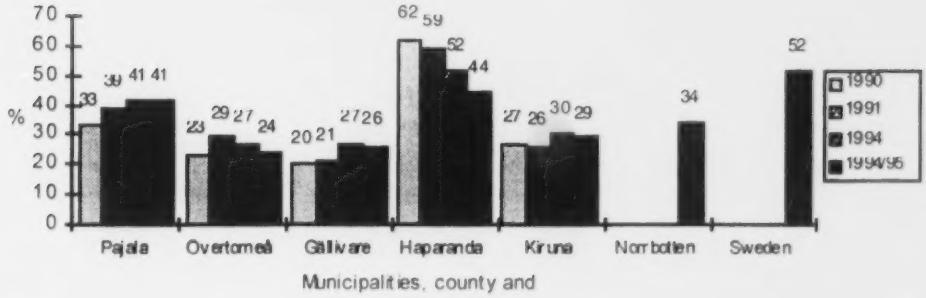


Figure 5. Participation in Finnish home language instruction



The total number of home language teachers in autumn 1993 was 51. They had 438 teaching periods/week including student counselling (SCB 1994).

Comparison with national figures

In comparison with the average percentage of immigrants who attend home language instruction in Sweden (67 per cent in 1987–88), the number of Sweden Finns attending was almost exactly on the average (SCB 1988:31). The general participation rates, however, have decreased from 67 per cent to 55 per cent in 1995–96 (Eriksson 1994:17). In the whole of Sweden in 1995–96 there were only 16 724 pupils in primary school who had Finnish as a home language and thus had the right to attend home language instruction; 7767 or 46.4 per cent of pupils chose this opportunity (Beijer 1996). The fall in interest is a general decline, as the average for all languages has decreased. The interest is nevertheless clearly lower in the Torne Valley. However, the difference depends partly on the different ways of counting the numbers of people who have the right to study home

language. Immigrants must have the language spoken in their homes, otherwise they are not allowed to receive home language instruction (SFS 1988:655). For that reason there are more pupils in the Torne Valley who have the possibility of studying Finnish as a home language. This particular rule applies to all Tornedalians in the whole of Sweden (Riksdagens kulturutskott 1993–02–10).

New forms of schooling in Övertorneå and Haparanda

In recent decades Övertorneå and Haparanda have gained a number of former Finnish citizens from the southern part of Sweden, and some immigrants from northern Finland. According to a few parents, the proficiency in Swedish of some of these Sweden Finns' children is too low to be able to attend Swedish instruction in school, and for that reason they send their children from Matarenki to Ylitornio, the community opposite Övertorneå municipality on the Finnish side of the Torne River.

On the other hand there are some Finns in Ylitornio who send their children to schools in Matarenki. Their alleged reason is that the children need to learn proper Swedish, or that they cannot speak enough Finnish to attend a school with only Finnish as the language of instruction because they have mainly been brought up in Sweden.

In both directions in 1990 about six pupils were sent to school in the neighbouring country. This form of free schooling in the primary school of the neighbour country was made possible in 1978 (Civildepartementet 1994:67, 74).

In Haparanda a bilingual school was established as an experiment in 1989–1990 where monolingual Finns from Finland and Swedes from Sweden each constitute half of every class in the first years in primary school, i.e. a form of immersion classes (Hederyd 1992:246).

Compulsory home language instruction in Pajala and Kangos

In the autumn of 1991 the school authorities in Pajala started a trial of compulsory home language instruction in one class at elementary level (grades 1–3). Instruction was given for one period/week as an integrated part of the subject of local history and geography. The instruction language was Swedish while the local history and traditions were mainly Finnish. Finnish words and explanations for words were put into the context of local history, music and traditions (Lampa, orally).

Pajala municipality is one of the most positive municipalities towards Tornedalen Finnish and in some schools has included Tornedalen Finnish as one free subject of choice within the ordinary school schedule (LT no. 28, 1995).

In autumn 1993 in Kangos, a village in Pajala municipality with about 48 pupils in primary school (grades 1–9), the parents started a private primary school with two periods/week of compulsory Tornedalen Finnish in grades 1–6 and one period/week in grades 7–9. The possibility of establishing private schools is a fairly new reform and Kangos is the first village in the Torne Valley to establish one.

Teacher competence and teaching materials

During the initial period of Finnish as a home language, Standard Finnish teaching materials were used. With the increasing interest in home language instruction, teach-

ers from the Torne Valley could not fulfil the demand and teachers from Finland came to the Torne Valley as home language instructors. They spoke Standard Finnish, i.e. a different variety that the pupils did not recognize.

Furthermore the schoolbooks were meant to be used in schools where the pupils had Finnish as the main second and majority language and not for pupils who were a bilingual minority as in the Torne Valley. During the late 1970s the County Board of Education started to use the term Tornedalen Finnish as a special variety of Standard Finnish. School materials were produced, mainly in the *Nordkalotteman* series (1980–1988), and Kenttä and Pekkari edited the book *Meän kieltä* (1986). Especially important were the booklets about and in Tornedalen Finnish written by Matti Kenttä, and included in the series of booklets in *Nordkalotteman* (Kenttä 1981b, 1983, 1988). These booklets are the first teaching materials in Tornedalen Finnish and have probably played an important role in the change of attitudes among pupils and home language teachers.

With these booklets as a start the home language teachers were requested to produce new material in the school in cooperation with the pupils; that in itself would be an efficient pedagogic method. Now several active schools have created their own material. Nevertheless many have complained that they cannot teach in Tornedalen Finnish because they have a lack of teaching material. The first dictionaries in Tornedalen Finnish were published in the early 1990s (Kenttä and Wande 1992; Winsa 1992).

In one study it was concluded that all teachers in primary school should have competence in Finnish (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:66). This was redefined when Tornedalen Finnish as a language in its own right was accepted officially at the end of the 1970s. In 1977 eight trainee teachers in the school of education in Luleå requested Tornedalen Finnish as a subject (Ranängen, orally). In 1978 this led to special education for prospective teachers at preschool, elementary and intermediate levels in Tornedalen Finnish — and Sami as well — as a home language (Lundberg and Löfgren 1984:4). However, Ranängen, a teacher at the school, argues that Standard Finnish was the subject till 1981 when the first course in Tornedalen Finnish was held. Sami was established 1982 (Ranängen, orally). The courses ran for five weeks.

A requirement for the special course was that the trainee teachers should be able to speak Tornedalen Finnish as a mother tongue, and thus they were from the Torne Valley. The preschool trainee teachers received about 60 lessons on Tornedalen Finnish, while the trainee teachers in elementary and intermediate levels received about 120 lessons. They also obtained some comparative knowledge of Standard Finnish and were encouraged to speak and teach in Tornedalen Finnish for pupils in the Finnish-speaking municipalities in Norrbotten. However, the length of these courses was too short.

These courses were set up by the Tornedalen Finnish-speaking Matti Kenttä, a former assistant master at the school. The School of Education changed the curriculum in 1988–89. In the 1990s those who can speak Finnish can take a course of 20 weeks in Standard Finnish. But, according to Kenttä, few students from the Torne Valley nowadays have enough competence in Tornedalen Finnish to access this special course for home language teachers; it is mainly reserved for students from Finland. Up to the

end of this course for Tornedalians about 60–90 students passed through this particular form of instruction (orally, Matti Kenttä).

In the early 1980s it was concluded that practically every home language teacher was in need of further education (SOU 1983:170). Those who were qualified in 1980 were nevertheless in need of extra training (Kenttä 1980). The ordinary classroom teacher is often qualified but must also work as an unqualified home language instructor.

Parents' attitudes to home language instruction

> "They learn Our Language because it is the teachers' interest and not the wish of the children." (Male, 45 years, Aapua.)

In a broad study of attitudes conducted in 1968 a number of parents, teachers and pupils responded to the statement in Table 5. Only 29 per cent of the parents believed that it should be possible to study Finnish in primary school, compared with about 40 per cent of the teachers and 42 per cent of the pupils.

Table 5: Every Tornedalian pupil should have the opportunity to study Finnish in primary school

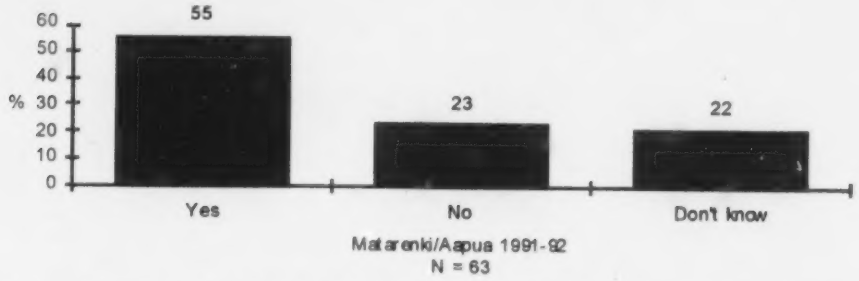
%	Parents	Teachers	Pupils
Agreed/ strongly agreed	29.2	40.4	41.7

Source: Kenttä and Weinz 1968:25

About 60 per cent of the parents argued that Swedish should be the only language allowed in primary school and 75 per cent of the parents maintained that the teachers should also urge pupils to speak Swedish outside the school (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:25). Perhaps the most hostile attitude towards Finnish was shown by parents, only 19 per cent of whom were positive towards the idea that the pupils should be able to read Finnish books and listen to Finnish radio in school; even the teachers — a traditionally conservative and hostile group towards Tornedalen Finnish — were more positive, with 36 per cent agreeing (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:26). However, attitudes change easily. When the question was slightly modified to ask about voluntary Finnish in a school program in primary school, about 54 per cent were positive, almost the same percentage among the teachers and 65 per cent among the pupils (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:27). The latter numbers are probably comparable with the results of this study.

Only 55 per cent of parents were willing to help their child receive home language instruction (Figure 6). About 60 per cent in Aapua and 57 per cent in Matarenki had argued in the 1960s — when home language was not established — that education time in Finnish should be increased (Jaakkola 1969:125).

Figure 6. If your child wanted to study Finnish, would you support him/her?



It is worth noting that about a fifth of informants did not want their children to receive any home language instruction. It is possible that this group speaks only Swedish with their children and may want to raise monolingual children.

> "I have forbidden my children to study Finnish. It's better to learn good Swedish." (Male, 35 years, Aapua.)

In the 1960s 17 per cent of the informants who had children asserted that the children should become monolinguals (Jaakkola 1969:125). Of those who spoke better Swedish than Finnish 23 per cent wanted their children to become monolinguals (Jaakkola 1969:126). The numbers today are comparable. One reason why so many want to prevent studies in Finnish, according to informants in Aapua, is the fairly common idea held earlier that education in Finnish would cause problems in learning Swedish — that the pupils would mix the languages and the different orthographies.

Not more than about 10–20 per cent of the informants wanted to have Finnish as a compulsory subject in primary school. A clear majority wanted to keep Finnish as an optional subject (which had been accepted for decades); but as for making it a compulsory subject, attitudes were mainly the same as, or perhaps even more negative than, in the 1960s when 22 per cent of the parents, 13 per cent of the teachers and 28 per cent of the pupils liked the idea of Finnish as a compulsory subject, as Table 6 shows.

Table 6: Finnish should be compulsory for all pupils in a Finnish-speaking environment

%	Parents	Teachers	Pupils
Agreed/ strongly agreed	22	13	28

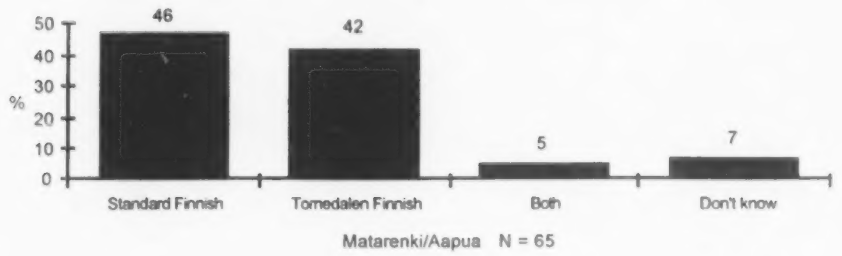
Source: Kenttä and Weinz 1968:28

In Cullblom's research 83 per cent wanted to keep Finnish as an optional subject, while 9 per cent wanted to make it compulsory (Cullblom 1992:tables 16, 22). This standpoint is a product of longstanding social values and was not carefully considered and discussed.

The argument that: "We already know Finnish, so it is better to study English, German or French" has been used to resist any instruction in Finnish since the beginning of this century. Today many claim that Finnish is not an important language or an international one, though many pupils will stay in the area as adults and will certainly have more need of Finnish than German. Today the argument has developed to: "People do not know Finnish, but it is not necessary to know it — it is of no value for the future." Tornedalians are aware that people who speak "good" Swedish are often well educated, and that Finnish is often linked to a lack of advanced education.

Attitudes among parents often predict whether the child will receive home language instruction or not. Many parents believe that children can decide for themselves if they want to attend home language instruction. The choice of the child is, however, a reflection of the attitudes of the parents. It sometimes happens that parents explicitly say "no" to their children when they want to study Finnish. One parent said that pupils in the 7–14 age group are not able to make an informed choice of the subjects they want to study, and that they are driven by trends and opinions in society and in school. Parents in this category do not like it that their own children hunger for knowledge of a "wrong" subject. The wrong subject is said to be caused by Tornedalian activists who have nostalgic and misdirected ideas about Tornedalen Finnish. Some argue that perhaps intellectuals can teach their children to become bilinguals, but not workers, who do not have the time, energy or competence to make their children bilingual. Finnish is not the most important foreign language for a child, and especially not Tornedalen Finnish, the negativists argue. They claim they hold this view not because of aversion to Finnish — the mother of one of the negativists is from Finland, for instance — but for pragmatic reasons. The parent is sometimes obliged to make the right decisions for the child.

Figure 7. What would be better to study, Standard Finnish or Tornedalen Finnish?



"I try to produce the real Finnish. It is *pölyimuri* [vacuum cleaner] and not *dammsyygari*." (Female, 62 years, Matarenki.)

"I would put them into real Finnish teaching. You don't not always get ahead [with Tornedalen Finnish.] Too many mingled Swedish words." (Male, 32 years, Matarenki.)

It is mainly those who are negative towards Tornedalen Finnish who value Standard Finnish more highly and regard it as more important to learn (Figure 7). Roughly speaking about 50 per cent support Tornedalen Finnish as a subject, and as many oppose the idea. Often those who themselves have problems in speaking fluent Finnish regard Tornedalen Finnish as just a hindrance in social life.

Attitudes and problems

The number of pupils who attend instruction in Finnish as a home language depends on the attitudes the parents have towards Finnish. The languages spoken at home by the pupils are mostly both Swedish and Finnish. Parents who are over about 30 years and born in Sweden in general speak only Swedish with their children, but Finnish with their spouses. The children thus gain an active knowledge of Swedish but a receptive knowledge of Finnish. Pupils in the Finnish-speaking municipalities can define their home language as Finnish, though they do not speak it actively. Those who define their home language as Finnish are influenced by their attitude towards Tornedalen Finnish — a positive general attitude causes more pupils to regard Finnish as a home language.

There is a great variation in the previous knowledge among pupils who receive Finnish instruction because there is no requirement for Finnish to be the mother tongue. The classes are therefore sometimes very mixed.

A basic problem for home language teachers is the long distances between the villages, sometimes about 100 km in each direction, but few lessons are needed in each school. The master of each municipal school management area is forced for this reason to employ several non-specialist teachers from villages nearby, which causes unemployment among the qualified home language teachers. This is reflected in the average instruction time per teacher. The total number of home language teachers in autumn 1993 was 49 in the Finnish-speaking municipalities, plus two teachers in the bilingual school in Haparanda. They had 438 teaching periods/week including student counselling (SCB 1994). This means that each teacher had less than nine periods/week of instruction time in Finnish. The local language teachers often have native fluent Tornedalen Finnish, but their explicit knowledge of Tornedalen Finnish grammar and vocabulary is narrow and their reading and writing competence is often limited.

In Pajala and villages nearby they have separated Tornedalen Finnish from Standard Finnish. Those who want to have Tornedalen Finnish constitute a separate class, while Standard Finnish speakers and readers make up another class. This increases the costs, but solves some pedagogic problems. However, even in the Tornedalen Finnish classes the home language teachers often prefer to write and read in Standard Finnish. Thus they use Tornedalen Finnish only as an oral language. Even if the teachers can write in Tornedalen Finnish their Standard Finnish competence competes with Tornedalen Finnish competence, with the result that the higher prestige language often wins (Lampa, orally). Moreover their knowledge of Finnish is by no means equivalent to their knowledge of Swedish, except for those teachers who were born and educated in Finland.

Attitudes among some teachers influence participation rates. Some home language teachers and form masters advise their pupils not to study Finnish, for example, either

as a general request to the class or because they do not believe that a particular child qualifies for inclusion. It seems, moreover, to be a fairly common opinion among many home language teachers that Finnish as a home language should not be studied if the Tornedalian pupil cannot speak it properly or has meagre receptive competence (Pekkari 1985).

Many teachers accept home language instruction because it is a legal right, but do not support it. According to a study carried out by the former County Board of Education, attitudes are more positive towards home language instruction higher up in the bureaucracy than among teachers in the field. However, a growing positive opinion is also apparent among teachers who speak Finnish themselves.

In school the more prestigious pupils often decide how many pupils attend home language instruction. If they give the thumbs down, the numbers of pupils are small, and vice versa. Status is an important predictor of interest in home language instruction (Skolverket 1996). The lack of interest was explained by some pupils as "Finnish is valued lower than other modern languages" (Pekkari 1976). Prestige governs the class and excludes "minority" home languages; this was already noticed as a general problem in 1977 (Junes 1977). If in addition the teachers do not balance these opinions with positive attitudes towards home language instruction it will be hard to encourage pupils to choose Finnish.

All but one of the pupils who studied Finnish in primary school in Matarenki in 1991 had one or both parents from Finland. The lack of pupils from the Swedish Torne Valley who do not have a Finnish parent is probably a result of many teachers' policy and the parents' attitudes. Despite its location at the Finnish border, Matarenki has low numbers of pupils attending instruction in Finnish as a home language.

Home language instruction competes for interest with other subjects, and pupils who choose a home language must often give up another subject taught in the same time slot.

School success of bilingual and monolingual Tornedalians

The question of Finnish pupils and of bilingual pupils in general and their adjustment to the school system has been debated for several decades. Three evaluations of the success of bilingual and monolingual Tornedalians illustrate this.

In the 1960s it was concluded that monolingual and bilingual Tornedalians achieved lower scores than the average Swede in mathematics, Swedish, reading, writing and English (Björkquist 1963; Kenttä and Weinz 1968:31). Even after correction for social background they scored significantly lower, e.g. in mathematics (Henrysson 1967). Bilingual Tornedalians in general had lower scores than monolingual Tornedalians (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:34ff.). The reason for the lower scores among bilingual Tornedalians was supposed to be found in their weaker Swedish competence. The possibility was not canvassed that it could be lower self esteem which causes a weakened will to compete on an equal basis, or that illiteracy in the mother tongue may influence analytical reasoning.

In an evaluation done in 1987–1988 of IQ tests of Swedish boys aged about 18 years who are aiming to do their military service, it was found that Norrbotten had the

third lowest scores of all counties in Sweden, and that Tornedalians in general scored lower not only than the average rural population, but also than monolingual municipalities such as Överkalix and Kalix (Idberger 1989; NSD 1990–09–22). The boys from Kiruna scored better than the average of municipalities in Norrbotten but that was the only exception to the low scoring of Finnish-speaking municipalities. Yet Kiruna scored lower than the average for municipalities in Västerbotten, the neighbouring county to the south, and showed a wide spread with many low and high scorers, perhaps because of the mixed linguistic population of the city. These divergent numbers in the Torne Valley are probably decreasing, however, due to increasing competence in Swedish. Thus the bilingual minority in the Torne Valley shows the same negative results as bilinguals in other countries: collective low self esteem which impacts on school success (Verma 1988:522). The differences were probably even greater when the adolescent boys had better proficiency in Finnish — the more proficient they were in Finnish, the lower their scores were.[1]

In 1985 pupils in grade 3 in Pajala and Kiruna municipalities were tested in mathematics and Swedish. In both subjects the municipalities' averages were below the average for the country as a whole (Hansegård 1990). However, when instruction included emphasis on the local environment the marks increased to far exceed the average for the municipality (Hansegård 1990:48).

In contrast to those receiving basically monolingual education, the pupils from the bilingual school in Haparanda showed better marks than the national average for Finland and Sweden (Skolverket 1996).

There has not been any evaluation and comparison of the Tornedalians who participate in home language instruction with those who do not. However, 1–2 periods/week should not make any difference on objective measures in these subjects.

As an explanation for the low scores among Tornedalians in these tests, Henning Johansson, a professor of pedagogy, claims that the reason is their lack of knowledge of local history and bilinguals' lack of deep knowledge of two languages. Another reason is that the types of questions are disadvantageous to rural pupils. The IQ test is heavily culture dependent, according to Johansson. Learning the local history is stressed as a pedagogical method which will have a positive influence on other subjects such as Swedish and mathematics, because consciousness of the particular culture influences self confidence (NSD 1988–12–15). However, this does not explain why rural people from other areas perform better. For instance, all boys are tested before they do their army service. The above evaluation was based mainly on monolingual Tornedalians with little competence in Finnish. Their performance in the tests should therefore have been on a par with that of boys from rural areas in Västerbotten. However, the latter performed better. The explanation is unlikely to be a linguistic one, though lack of linguistic traditions in Swedish may perhaps have an effect on cognitive tests.

Tornedalen Finnish in universities and radio courses

The first course in Tornedalen Finnish was held in 1985 in Finnish Kolari, a border village near Pajala. This short course had 23 participants and was arranged by Föreningen Norden (the Nordic Union) the County Board of Education and Lapin

Kesäyliopisto (Lappland's Summer University) in Finland (Kenttä and Ranängen 1985).

The first university course in Tornedalen Finnish, lasting five weeks, was held in Övertorneå 1991. One of the participants described the strange feeling of being instructed in Tornedalen Finnish: "It was as if we were learning something forbidden and criminal." The Department of Finnish at Stockholm University has conducted courses on Tornedalen Finnish language and culture since 1993, focusing mainly on sociolinguistics and cultural studies and a brief study of the language. In 1995 Tornedalen Finnish was introduced as a separate language course in that university, and in 1996 at Luleå Technical University. One reason that the interest in Tornedalen Finnish is more pronounced in Stockholm University than in other departments of Finnish is that the professor is a Tornedalian. Erling Wande (1940–), born in Korpilompolo, is the first Tornedalian to become a professor of Finnish language in Sweden.

The first radio course in Tornedalen Finnish was broadcast in the spring of 1997, for about 40 minutes three times a week for about ten weeks.

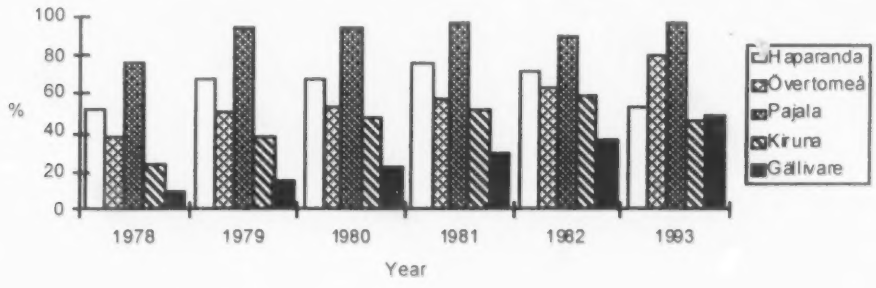
Language during childhood

Studies by the County Board of Education

Before the 1970s there were few surveys of which home language the pupils used. In general Finnish was the majority language within the five Finnish-speaking municipalities. In 1957, 66 per cent of the pupils in Övertorneå municipality claimed that Finnish was their home language. The percentage was 93 per cent in Pajala municipality. In Haparanda municipality it was about 70 per cent (Jaakkola 1969:22). These reports were based on what language the pupils said they spoke at home.

In the late 1960s Tornedalen Finnish attracted interest among scholars from Finland and Sweden. During these years Swedish became increasingly dominant as a home language for the youngest children in most of the bilingual region. The County Board of Education paid increased attention to the numbers of Tornedalians who had Finnish as a home language and their proficiency in Finnish. This attention was mainly caused by the fact that interest in studying Finnish was increasing.

Figure 8. Pupils with Finnish as a home language



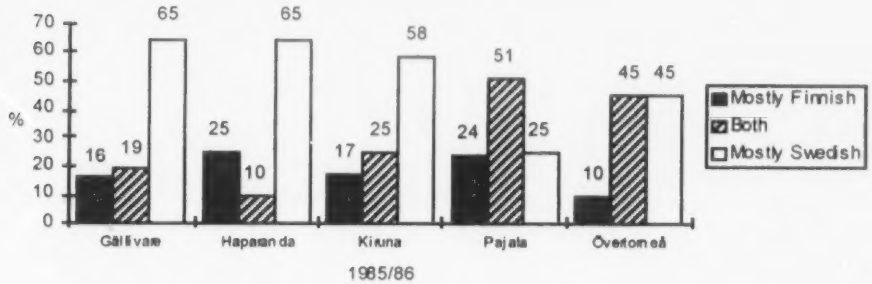
The County Board of Education estimated the percentage of pupils who had Finnish as a home language up to 1982. This is shown in Figure 8. The numbers from 1993 are reported by local teachers to the National Statistics Office of Sweden (Kenttä 1980, 1981, 1984; SCB 1993–94).

The general tendency is that the percentage of pupils with Finnish as a home language increased from 1978 to 1993, despite the fact that proficiency in Finnish had decreased rapidly. Haparanda municipality is the exception. One reason for the increase in home language speakers is that the definition of home language changed due to the changed attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish. In the early 1980s the definition of home language was broadened to mean the language spoken in the home or in the home environment, but not necessarily by the children themselves.

The difference in the percentage of pupils reflects different attitudes towards home language instruction. In reality nearly every pupil in the municipalities of Haparanda, Övertorneå and Pajala has daily contact with Finnish; thus Finnish belongs to their home environment. In Kiruna and Gällivare the percentages today perhaps reflect the actual situation. The proportion has in fact steadily risen in Gällivare to 49 per cent.

The study was conducted again, expanded and modified, in 1985–86 (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Language in Tornedalian families



The home is the last domain where the minority language is normally in use. According to Slunga, Swedish was spoken in 1986 in about 66 per cent of all families living in the Torne Valley. If we only count those families who are Tornedalians by origin the percentage would be 53 per cent, i.e. in 47 per cent of all Tornedalian families Finnish or both languages are used in the homes of primary school pupils. The highest percentage is found in Pajala with 75 per cent of families speaking Finnish or both Finnish and Swedish at home, and the lowest in Gällivare with 35 per cent (Slunga 1986a).

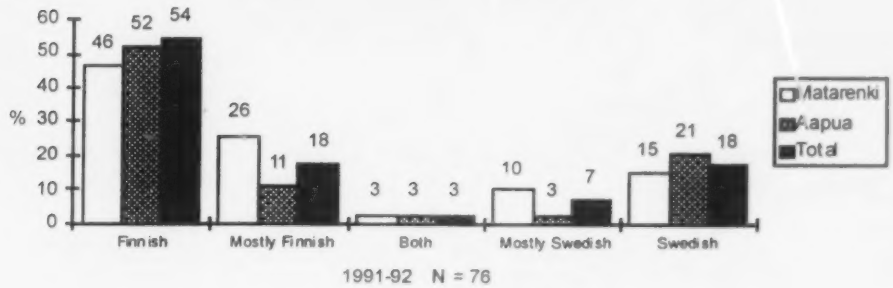
In 1984 it was estimated that 21 per cent of the pupils in primary school in the county of Norrbotten had Finnish as a home language. About 15 per cent of the whole population of Norrbotten was estimated to be Swedish Tornedalians who had Finnish as a home language (Rapport 1986:22).

Home language in Aapua and Matarenki in 1991–92

The number of Swedish-speaking families is growing rapidly. One problem with the definition of the language spoken in homes is to know who is speaking what and to whom in bilingual families. In a study in the 1970s there was a significant difference between the parents' language in communication with their children, and the children's' language with their parents. About 70 per cent of the pupils in grade 4 claimed that they spoke only Swedish with their parents, whereas between 42 and 51 per cent of the parents claimed that they spoke only Swedish with their children (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:26).

According to the interviews in the 1991–92 survey, the most common situation is that parents spoke mainly, or only, Swedish with their children and mainly Finnish with their friends and spouses. Figure 10 shows which languages are used at home by parents.

Figure 10. Parents' home language



Compared with the study from 1985 where 54 per cent of all families in the Övertorneå municipality spoke mostly Finnish or both languages at home (Slunga 1986a), the table shows slightly higher numbers due to the broad range of different age groups answering the questionnaire. The numbers in Slunga's study can partly be explained as a result of a confusing question.

The language of the informants at home in relation to their parents was mostly Finnish (72 per cent). The older parents in general had only Finnish as a home language, whereas almost all of the parents who were born in Sweden and were younger than about 50 spoke Swedish with their children; among younger people the situation was the same as in the early 1960s (Jaakkola 1969:39). But if they really spoke only Swedish with their children in the 1960s the numbers of people who have Finnish as their first language should be lower than 60 per cent in the 1991–92 study.

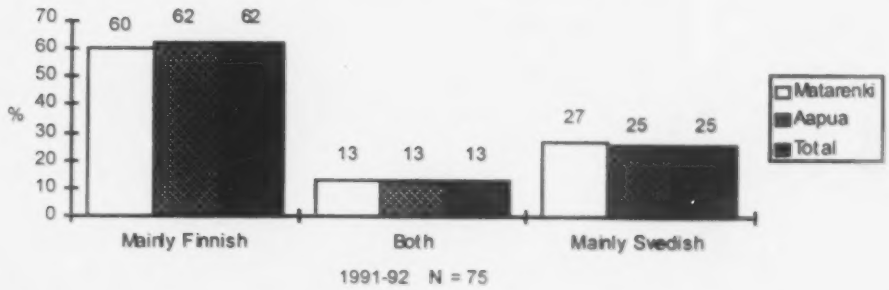
In another study from the 1960s of pupils born 1952–54 in the southern part of the Torne Valley, 52 per cent said they spoke only Finnish or both languages with their parents (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:17).

A common finding among parents is the stress they place on the importance of speaking only Swedish to their children during the early years, but they switch over to

Finnish when the child is about 6–10 years old. In practice this happened to some extent in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Now they speak almost entirely Swedish.

First language

Figure 11. Which was your first language?



The pattern of language shift was similar in Matarenki and Aapua, but was delayed in small villages. Furthermore the language shift corresponded to social class, with social groups I–II being more monolingual than social group III (Rönmark and Wikström 1980). Matarenki and Aapua both had the same number of people who had acquired Swedish, Finnish or both languages as their first language (Figure 11), although studies from the 1970s indicate that Finnish was in general more frequently used (Rönmark and Wikström 1980). Many still have Finnish as their first language. However, a high percentage of people up to the age of 25–30 have Swedish as their first active language and Finnish to some extent as a receptive language. According to Rönmark and Wikström the last monolinguals in Finnish entered school in 1975 (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:55). No-one born in the Swedish Torne Valley after 1970 with Swedish parents would claim that Finnish is their best language, as 20 per cent of the comparable, i.e. 15–24, age group did in 1966 (Figure 12); or the 20 per cent of pupils in fourth grade in 1975–76 who claimed that they spoke only or predominantly Finnish with their parents. Finnish was not the best language of many pupils; only about 5–10 per cent claimed that they had fairly good competence in Finnish (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:20, 36).

In 1966, 37 per cent of 6–7 year old pupils were of the opinion that they spoke mainly or better Finnish, while 41 per cent claimed that they spoke mainly or better Swedish (Jaakkola 1973:55). This is compatible with the notion that about 70 per cent of the adults at that time spoke mainly Finnish with their mothers, but only 29 per cent Finnish with their children (Jaakkola 1969:39). But even in 1966, 61 per cent of those who were 15–24 claimed that Swedish was their best language. Swedish proficiency should thus have declined, though this was probably not the actual case.

Competence in Swedish

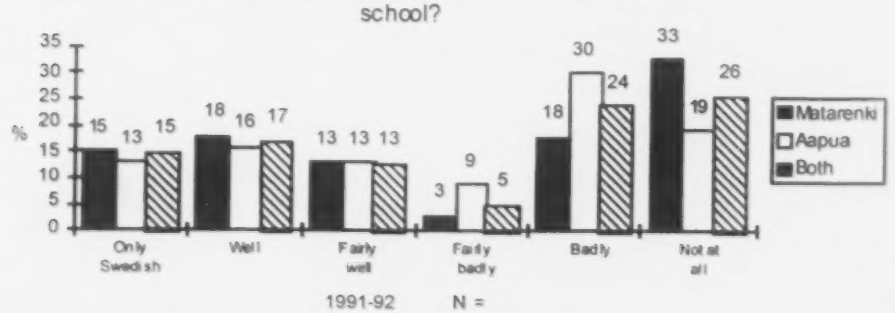
People born in the last decades of the nineteenth century were often monolingual in Finnish, or at least had only weak formal competence in Swedish. The last monolinguals in Finnish passed away in the 1970s. Today the predominant position of Swedish is indisputable (Westergren 1995).

Everyone in the 1991–92 survey who was born in Sweden felt that their competence in Swedish was good or fairly good. It is not uncommon for Tornedalians to underestimate their competence in Swedish and to claim that it is only fairly good, although they have good competence in Finnish. Older people more often claim that their Swedish is only fairly good, especially if they live in Aapua. Only one person, born in Finland, felt that her Swedish could be much better, and that she had problems expressing herself properly.

The majority were satisfied with their linguistic competence, although 34 per cent in Matarenki claimed that it could be better and that they lacked knowledge, mostly in Finnish, but sometimes in both languages and other languages such as English. About 60 per cent in Matarenki and 75 per cent in Aapua were satisfied with their linguistic competence.

As is common among bilinguals, many informants often spoke outside the formal interview about their lack of proficiency in both languages, and said that they have only partial proficiency in each language and that they need to mix Finnish and Swedish to express themselves properly.

Figure 13. How well did you know Swedish when you started school?

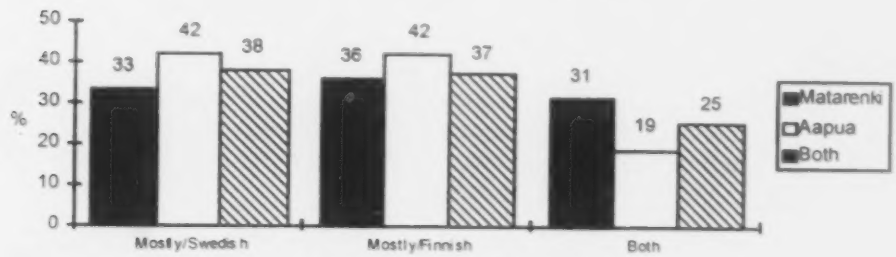


About 60 per cent claimed that Finnish is their first language. This compares well with the 55 per cent who claimed that they had little or no knowledge of Swedish when they started school (Figure 13). About 45 per cent said that they could speak only Swedish, or good or fairly good Swedish when they went to school. About 25 per cent had Swedish as their first language, while only 15 per cent said that they knew only Swedish at seven years of age. This means that many learned Finnish in the playground and from grandparents, as many in Matarenki claimed, so that they were bilinguals when they began school. In Matarenki some monolinguals have learned Finnish as adults in their occupations out of personal interest.

The numbers from Aapua and Matarenki in each rating group are almost equal. In Aapua the language shift is more distinct, and Swedish became an everyday language among people born after the mid sixties. In Matarenki the language shift is different from that in Aapua within the generations due to more influences from other parts of Sweden and Finland. The Swedish impact has been stronger due to the higher numbers of middle class people who mainly speak/spoke Swedish. The negative middle class attitudes were later adopted by the working class due to a wish to take on middle class values in order to achieve upward social mobility.

Competence is reflected in the language used in the playground at school. Swedish was used in the playground by up to 40 per cent of the pupils during the first years at school. The numbers are comparable with the statistics for first language.

Figure 14. Language in the playground in final years of school



N = 75 Interview 1991-92

The final years in school are defined as gymnasium or grades 7–9 in primary school, depending on the particular level of education; sometimes even grade 6–7 in elementary school (Figure 14). After junior level the dominance of spoken Finnish declines and bilingualism becomes prevalent. The Swedish share is in general constant, but some students spoke more Finnish in Matarenki, because of more frequent contacts with Finnish speakers, e.g. at Haparanda gymnasium.

Competence in Finnish in primary school

In the 1970s about 60 per cent of the pupils in grade 4 in the three border municipalities had fairly good, good or very good competence in Finnish (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:42). In Övertorneå municipality 74 per cent in 1985 had some knowledge of Finnish, while the average for the five Finnish-speaking municipalities was 49 per cent. About 23 per cent of the pupils in Övertorneå municipality could speak Finnish with a large vocabulary; the average for the five municipalities was 9 per cent. Only 5 per cent mastered Finnish better than Swedish in Övertorneå, or 36 pupils of a total of 661. Only 1.3 per cent in the five municipalities spoke Finnish better than Swedish (Slunga 1986a:2).

Those who speak better Finnish than Swedish were almost without exception born in Finland or are second generation immigrants.

We can conclude that according to our interviews Finnish was the dominant language among children at the beginning of the 1960s. Today it is associated with people older than 30–35 who speak Swedish with a Tornedalen Finnish accent.

Summary

Until 1963 it was not possible to study Finnish in elementary school (later called primary school). During the 1960s it was possible in theory to study Standard Finnish in primary school. But if this was chosen, entrance to gymnasium was excluded. Very few used this "opportunity". In 1970 it became possible to study Standard Finnish as a voluntary subject replacing other subjects. In 1976 the home language reform included all home languages. In 1985 a restriction of these rights required that the home language should be the pupils' everyday language of conversation. However, Tornedalian, Sami and Romany pupils were excluded from this requirement. The second restriction came 1991. Now the home language group must constitute at least five pupils. However, even this requirement excludes the national minorities of Sweden.

In the late 1970s discussion of the status of Tornedalen Finnish emerged from the pedagogic idea that language instruction should start with the familiar and move towards the unknown. One reason for this was that Tornedalian pupils felt alienated from Standard Finnish and in general achieved lower school marks than Finnish immigrants, despite the fact that they had Tornedalen Finnish as an oral language. This led to the idea that Tornedalen Finnish should be regarded as a language in its own right, due both to its isolation from Standard Finnish and to its minority position. During the early 1980s it became possible in general for pupils in primary school to request Tornedalen Finnish in home language instruction. However, separate statistics are not kept on Tornedalen Finnish and Standard Finnish. Except in a few schools there is rarely any instruction purely in Tornedalen Finnish. It is still basically used as a pedagogical aid and as a marker of cultural identity. In comparison with the economic support for instruction in Sami, the difference is huge.

Gällivare municipality had 912 pupils in 1994–95 with Finnish as a home language, and 239 received home language instruction, mostly at elementary and intermediate levels (SCB 1994). The absolute numbers were the highest ever in 1993 (Slunga 1989:appendix 1). The increasing numbers in Gällivare may reflect an attitudinal change.

In comparison with Övertorneå it is telling that Övertorneå and Gällivare have the same percentage of pupils who study home languages. In reality every pupil in Övertorneå should be counted in the home language group, whereas the numbers in Gällivare are closer to the actual situation. In Övertorneå it is nearly impossible to avoid being in contact with Finnish, which is how pupils qualify as having Finnish as a language in their home environment. The same goes for the inhabitants in Haparanda. The difference in numbers reflects attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish/Finnish. The inhabitants of Övertorneå are more negative towards Tornedalen Finnish/Finnish than the inhabitants in at least Pajala and Gällivare.

Haparanda has one school with a particular form of immersion classes with both Standard Finnish and Swedish as the medium languages. Since the early 1990s Tornedalen Finnish has been a mandatory subject in two primary schools, and about

1500 pupils study it as a home language for 1–2 periods/week. However, it is claimed that the numbers have declined recently. The attitude towards the local language among the teachers, parents and pupils predicts the number of pupils. The teachers face problems with the often diverse competence in Finnish among the pupils.

Interest in home language instruction up to 1994 was growing in Gällivare municipality, fairly stable in Pajala and Övertorneå municipalities, and decreasing in Haparanda and Kiruna municipalities. About 34 per cent of the pupils in primary school in the Finnish-speaking municipalities attended home language instruction. The average for Norrbotten was 35 per cent. About one third of all those who were allowed to be instructed in Finnish as a home language lived in Norrbotten — 5507 of 18 807 in 1994 (16 724 in 1995–96).

In all gymnasiums the number of pupils who attend Finnish instruction has decreased greatly in every municipality from a peak of 368 pupils in 1981–82 to 125 pupils in 1988–89 (Slunga and Heikkilä 1989:table 2).

In the 1960s 54 per cent of parents were positive towards Finnish as a voluntary subject, whereas 17 per cent maintained that their children should be monolinguals. Today about 20 per cent of those who can speak (Tornedalen) Finnish argue that they do not want to have any form of Finnish instruction in school, whereas 55 per cent would support their children's wish to receive home language instruction. Very few are positive towards Finnish as a compulsory subject. Attitudes have seemingly not changed towards support of the local language. One problem with comparisons is that the basis for the questions is often not precisely the same — different contexts produce different attitudes. However, on the whole those who are positive towards Tornedalen Finnish are also more positive towards Finnish as a voluntary subject in school. In Matarenki every pupil except one attending home language instruction had one or both parents from Finland. The target language was always Standard Finnish.

About 28 per cent of the informants in 1991–92 had participated in some form of Finnish language course. Only 5 per cent had done this in the 1960s.

In the early 1980s a particular form of education for home language teachers was started in Luleå. The County Board of Education started to compile teaching materials for Tornedalen Finnish in the 1970s. Two dictionaries were published. However, a common statement is that there is still a lack of appropriate teaching materials for instruction in Tornedalen Finnish, and that the home language teachers are often not competent.

In the 1960s it was concluded that bilingualism clearly had negative effects on IQ scores and school success. Monolingual Tornedalian boys of today are still observed to be low scoring in cognitive tests performed on entering the army. No current official evaluation of pupils attending home language instruction is carried out. However, 1–2 periods/week should not make any difference to cognitive abilities as such, but perhaps indirectly it may strengthen cultural identity and confidence. Evaluations of the bilingual school at Haparanda are positive.

Tornedalen Finnish can nowadays be requested at every level of the schooling system. At Stockholm University Tornedalen Finnish has been a subject since 1995, and since 1997 at Luleå Technical University.

The general problem is to compare the different surveys and know what has been measured: the parents' language addressed to the children, or to each other, or the

language of the children addressed to the parents? Nevertheless, in 1966 37 per cent of the seven year old children claimed that Finnish was their main or best language, and 60 per cent of those between 15–24 claimed that Swedish was their best language, whereas the opposite was the case among people between 55–64. About 1975 the last pupils with Finnish as their most proficient language entered school. Today few non-immigrant children claim that Finnish is their best language.

Notes

[1] However, according to comparisons from the early 1990s the county of Norrbotten still scores lower than the national county average, but is no longer among the lowest scoring counties (DN 1996-07-22).

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE AND DOMAIN

"First", "best" and "most fluent" language

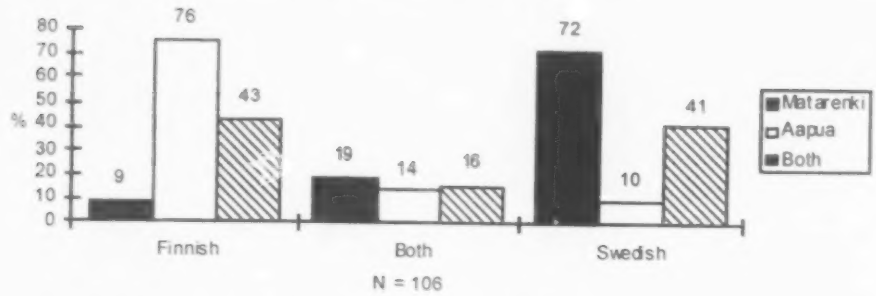
The concepts of first, best and most fluent language differ significantly. Speakers' first language is their mother tongue, which in the case of Tornedalians is Tornedalen Finnish. Their best language may be the one they use in school and in official settings; it may be more decontextualized, with a broader vocabulary, and may involve higher metalinguistic awareness due to well developed literacy. But this language may be less appropriate in informal settings, because it is not so context bound as the first language. Therefore speakers may feel it is unnatural to use their best language and prefer to use the language they feel they use most spontaneously in informal settings.

In a monolingual society the terms "best" and "most fluent" language are synonymous, but in the bilingual community where each language is used differently, differences arise in particular mastery. One explanation for the distinction between first, best and most fluent language is speakers' subjective and individual evaluation of proficiency. It depends on which frame of reference they use in evaluation of the "best" language. Finnish can be the most fluent language, but Swedish may still be the best for proficiency, because Swedish is mostly used in official and formal domains such as writing, reading, speaking in public, etc. Swedish can be applied in all kind of official fields and professional domains, and in the private domain as well, although this is felt as unnatural. But the public field also includes and demands formal speech to some extent which evokes feelings of insecurity and increased self monitoring, which in turn cause hesitation and lowered speed (Bernstein 1971). Because of the tacit obligation to speak in a particular way, the subconscious mastery of language is lost and replaced by more controlled forms and thus this speech will differ from everyday talk. Spontaneity is lowered but the vocabulary is extended.

Finnish, on the other hand, is mainly used in the private sphere and in practical life, and in general has a narrow vocabulary. It is nevertheless the most fluent and felt as the most active language. Furthermore, the private domain produces a more comfortable use of the language, with concentration being mostly on the content and less on the form of talk (cf. Krashen 1981:53); i.e. language is understood as a tool for conveying information. In the private field speakers have enough Tornedalen Finnish words, but if necessary they spontaneously use Swedish loan words, without worrying whether they are mixing the languages. The language norms in the use of the vocabulary are considerably lowered in private life. Swedish words can be borrowed very frequently, seldom evoking any protests from others.

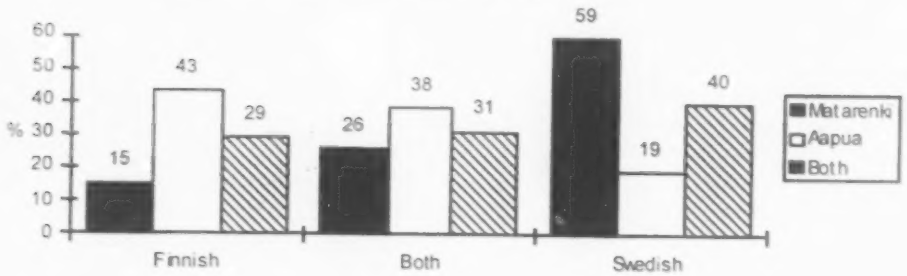
Figures 15 and 16 show the percentages of people in 1966 and 1992 respectively who nominated the language they knew best. In 1966 the average for people who could speak better Finnish than Swedish was 43 per cent, 16 per cent felt that both their languages were equal, and 41 per cent felt that Swedish was their best language (Jaakkola 1969:28–9). In 1992 15 per cent in Matarenki and 43 per cent in Aapua were of the opinion that Finnish was their best language.

Figure 15. What is your best language? 1965



N = 106

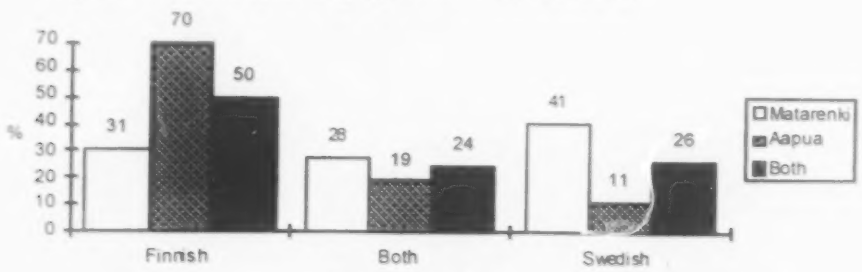
Figure 16. What is your best language? 1992



N = 76

By contrast there is a strikingly high number (31 per cent in Matarenki, and 70 per cent in Aapua) who consider that Finnish is their most fluent language (Figure 17). Because about 60 per cent list Finnish as their first language, while only 15 per cent in Matarenki claim that they have Finnish as their best language, there are some people in Matarenki who have switched languages from Finnish to Swedish (in the "best language" mode). Or in absolute numbers, 17 persons have changed language from Finnish to Swedish, although five of them feel that their Finnish is the most fluent one. In Aapua the percentages in first and fluent language are nearly the same, while the proportion with both as "good" languages have increased since childhood.

Figure 17. Which of your languages is the most fluent one?



1991-92 N = 76

Emotional language, swearing and anger

This dichotomy in mastery of the two languages is in accord with many Tornedalians' assertion that Tornedalen Finnish is their emotional language, whereas Swedish is their rational language. This explanation is also in accord with the assertion that the speech of the working class in general has less hesitation, is more impulsive and less self monitored (Bernstein 1971). Compared with the middle class they should be more aware of the difference between spontaneous and planned speech because of their more spontaneous speech in the everyday environment in work and in private life and less trained habits of formal speech. Hence language mixing increases with degree of impulsiveness.

Figure 18. Which language do you swear in?

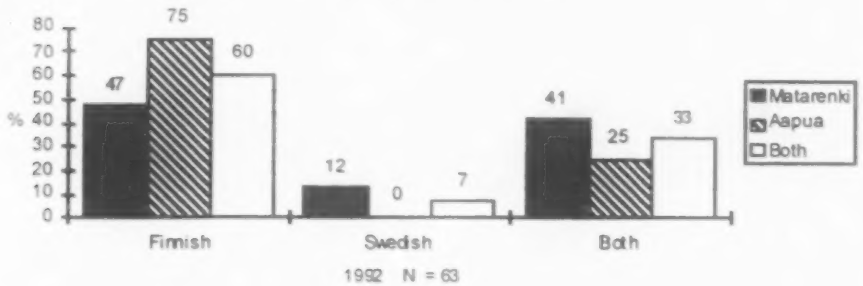


Figure 18 shows which language people use when swearing. Some swear deliberately in Swedish because they feel that Swedish swearwords are softer, while others swear in Finnish because Finnish stings better. According to them Finnish has a harder and sharper *r*, which better fulfils its function of release of sudden anger e.g. in *perkele* 'the devil; God damn!' Surprisingly many of those who mainly speak Swedish use Finnish swearwords.

Figure 19. Which language do you get angry in?

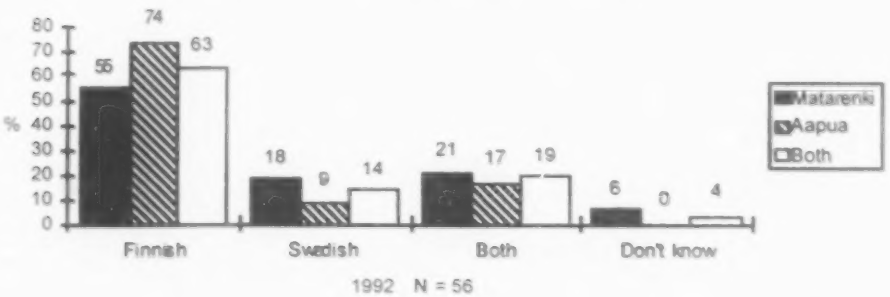


Figure 19 shows which language people use when they are angry. Some Tornedalians claim that they get angry in Swedish because they can keep a distance from their anger in that language, which they feel is more detached from emotions. One person claimed that he mixes both languages more when he is angry. Another maintained that he cannot be angry in Swedish. This is one of the reasons why Tornedalians feel ashamed of their Swedish — they cannot express themselves emotionally in Swedish.

> "I have realized ... that I can't speak fluently when I use Swedish, I feel that it's wrong, it's as if the feeling is in my backbone." (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

One religious person said he could never swear in Finnish, because it is his religious language. One mother maintained that her children obey better when she expresses her anger in Finnish.

Obviously some emotions are better expressed in Finnish even among many of those who have Swedish as their best oral and written language.

A clear correspondence can be found between first/fluent/best language, anger and swearwords: just six people get angry in Swedish while 18 do so in Finnish. The percentage of people who use Finnish to express anger, swearwords and spontaneity is higher than the percentage of people who claim it as their best language. It is probably a question of two different competences.

This discrepancy between the language used to express anger and the best language has also been noticed in other minorities, e.g. Mexicans in southern USA, where 80 per cent of the mothers answered empathically that in scolding and quarrelling they used Spanish: "When I'm really angry, I think better in Spanish." This compares with only 24 per cent who claimed that they were generally more comfortable in Spanish, and only 40 per cent who spoke mainly Spanish to their children (Redlinger 1978: 77–8).

This difference in linguistic practice between emotional and best language is also noticed when people become upset in general. They are more likely to use the variety they learned during childhood, or if they use their second language it is more influenced by the accent of their mother tongue (Weinreich 1970).

Code switching and borrowing

Switching between languages is common in the spontaneous unmonitored speech of many Tornedalians. Both languages are often mixed when Finnish is the basic language, with many Swedish loan words in the Finnish vocabulary, and often very quick code switching from Finnish to Swedish and vice versa, often in the same sentence.[1]

Finnish grammar, functional words and vocabulary are used spontaneously as the base. The functional words are usually Finnish, partly because of their frequency and partly because of lack of similar semantic associations with content words. However, a few Finnish features influence Swedish. Finnish grammatical gender may affect Swedish. Finns often do not use Swedish grammatical gender in their spoken Swedish, but designate both sexes with the pronoun *han*. This is caused by the fact that Finnish has only the pronoun *hän* which designates both sexes and in spontaneous speech the Finnish form can sometimes dominate. Furthermore, when Finns and Tornedalians speak Swedish they often pronounce the Swedish aspirated phonemes [p], [t] and [k] with

Finnish unaspirated forms, which are close to the Swedish phonemes [b], [d] and [g], due to the fact that aspirated phonemes do not exist in Finnish.

The oral language moves towards greater simplification; for instance the full Finnish case system may be not be used, with new simplifications and new forms merging for cases that are not frequently used.

Finnish core vocabulary remains, but much other vocabulary is taken from Swedish. Tornedalians, especially the last Finnish-speaking generations, resort freely to Swedish loan words. This free borrowing has been noticed among all linguistic minorities (e.g. Dorian 1981:80). Speakers then adapt the Swedish words radically to Tornedalen Finnish morphology and mostly to Finnish phonology. Many words are pronounced in Swedish as well.

Finnish loans, on the other hand, very seldom occur in the Swedish of Tornedalians, due to literacy in Swedish and to the unspoken demand for prestige forms in the formal settings where Swedish is used. The formal setting also requires awareness of intonation where the Finnish accent is to be avoided — a Swedish accent in Finnish is normally much better accepted than a Finnish accent in Swedish.

The reason for the quick code switching or mixing of both languages into a new language form can be found in the different domains where the languages were learnt. Many Tornedalians who can speak both Finnish and Swedish are not completely fluent in either language (from the majority perspective of language definition), because they do have not a spontaneous vocabulary in both languages for all kinds of domains.

Some domains of communication lend themselves to spontaneous speech in Swedish, and others in Finnish. In most contacts with authorities Swedish is almost the only language, for example. Swedish is the only language used in public, apart from some Tornedalen Finnish programs on the local radio. On the other hand, conversations at home about matters to do with home life are conducted in Finnish, but if the topic being discussed at home belongs to a domain where Swedish is normally used, then code switching will occur, with Swedish phrases or sentences spontaneously intermixed with Finnish. Any topic can be discussed in Tornedalen Finnish, though it may contain a great many modified Swedish lexical items.

As traditional occupations and old traditions are lost, the vocabulary needed for new occupations is taken from Swedish. This special terminology and phrases in Swedish have been learnt in school and from television, radio broadcasts, newspapers, etc. Because Tornedalians normally do not know the Standard Finnish vocabulary in technical fields and some correspondences to Swedish phrases, they tend to mix the languages when necessary.

In other studies bilinguals have often explained their code switching as being caused by laziness, or by noting that code switching and loan words increase when they are excited, angry or tired (Grosjean 1982:148ff.), and thus emotionally more involved in the subject where they stress the importance of the content. In other words the person loses the distance between the object of the talk and himself as an observer. In strongly felt situations the speaker has a weak monitor that filters his speech and behaviour. In "normal" settings in a homogeneous village the typical feature of casual speech is that the interlocutors are not aware of their switching and thus they focus their thinking on content rather than on form. The form of speech is governed by the best way to express a particular content. To focus on form is to be reflective and con-

scious. The ideal form is seemingly one in which it is possible to avoid self awareness during speech. This is probably a more important norm than the external demand to keep the languages separate.

The degree of code switching may depend on the degree of literacy in both languages. The oral language is the only form Tornedalians master, but they are to a large extent unaware of its form. In tests with recognition of exposed high frequency words it has been found that the level of education predicts reaction time. Well educated people are more exposed to high frequent words and are thus quicker to recognize them than the less educated (Tainturier 1992). The same idea can be applied to bilingual societies and degree of code switching. The most exposed words are used, without regard of language source, but literacy is an advantage for frequent items and conscious knowledge of prestige forms.

Many speakers argued that speaking one language at a time was laborious for them. The easygoing way of speaking using code switching can be explained as an avoidance of self awareness. When a person must have full control of the speech form he is less relaxed and less of a spontaneous partaker in discussions. Code switching is the most efficient way to use the two languages, and the most relaxed form among peers. This may explain why bilinguals tend to place less value on unmixed modes.

It is well known that bilinguals in informal settings are unaware of which language they are using at any moment and how much they mix. This is an indication that the speaker focuses attention on content and neglects the form, whereas carefully monitored speech pays attention to form.

We can argue that in the spontaneous mode speakers use a different form of conceptual network, due to its demand for context bound reasoning and avoidance of self awareness. The formal mode, on the other hand, requires a conceptual network which separates the speaker as a subject from the content of the speech.

Code switching and social identity

Society has not accepted language mixing as a high prestige variety. This explains why many bilinguals feel uncomfortable when speaking one of the languages with a monolingual — they are forced to focus attention on form and become more self monitoring (cf. Grosjean 1982:141ff.).

A high proportion of Tornedalians prefer bilinguals as their fellow workers (28 per cent in Matarenki) — not bilinguals who have learnt to speak each language fluently but separately, but people who mix Swedish and Finnish spontaneously. They see their own language behaviour reflected in their friends and vice versa. Among the Tornedalians interviewed, two explicitly preferred to mix with bilinguals so they would have the freedom to mingle the languages without feeling social pressure to speak either language. This acceptance of code switching produces group identity. People who speak only one language or both languages without mixing do not fit into the group identity, but create uneasiness and lowered self confidence because they split up the homogeneous group and part of the group identity is lost. This view explains why many minorities view the use of unmixed speech in informal settings negatively (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:217; Romaine 1988:1460). An example of this is the popu-

larity of a private radio station in southern Texas which mixes Spanish and English deliberately (Bayley 1993). The "pure" unmixed language is perceived as a marker of distance, alienation, dissociation, dominance and formality.

Language shift

Reasons for shift

Where two languages are in contact there is a division in linguistic status. We can assume that linguistic status corresponds to social stratification and the socio-economic conditions of the language group, and therefore two languages cannot be equally valued (Nelde et al. 1996). Linguistic status can be defined as the value of a language for social mobility. Thus language shifts are associated with social class differences. This is probably the reason why working class varieties seldom have high prestige in public.

There is always a hierarchical order of use depending on the status of the languages (Nelde et al. 1996). There are no known examples of a so called adstratum relationship between two languages, in which the languages are equal in social prestige. If such an ideal society did exist it would mean that in general it lacked social stratification. Instead we can postulate that where two groups maintain their mother tongues there will always be a substratum and a superstratum. The superstratum includes by definition the higher prestige language and it will overcome the substratum, if no shift in prestige occurs (cf. Hock 1991) or if the minority is not given institutional support. In two monolingual societies, or a bilingual society where a third language emerges as a consequence of a need, for example, for trading between the two groups, then the trading language is certainly regarded as a functional poorly valued variety. This is the case with many pidgin languages.

In most cases the minority language in a nation or society is perceived as the substratum. The majority controls the government, the economy, education, literature, media, industries, and so forth, i.e. the basic elements which dominate a minority group. The well educated middle class possesses a higher social position. Accordingly, as a reflection of the social order their language possesses higher status as well. The working class as a group is the lowest in social stratification in every society and as a reflection of this their language has the lowest prestige. The basic characteristics of a minority group are that it has low social diversification, and the language is often used only as an oral informal variety, despite the fact that the spoken language may be a literary one in another area. This was the situation with many European minorities in the 1960s. Today many of them are institutionalized and thus socially stratified.

An example of the effect of the prestige of the superstratum language can be seen in the decision of many Finns to change their surnames. This practice increased in the 1950s (Sandström 1991:148–9). One reason was that Finnish surnames were experienced as a burden, e.g. in contact with monolinguals and in army service where a Finnish name would hamper the career.[2] But many Tornedalians (20 per cent) officially claimed aesthetic value as the reason for the shift as well — Swedish surnames were felt to be "nicer" (Sandström 1991:148–9.). Given names had already been Swedish for a long period but pronounced in Finnish.

Language shift in bilingual societies follows a regular pattern. Loans from the low prestige language to the high prestige language are probably rare in any society. The last Standard Finnish terms were borrowed from Finland in the 1920s and 1930s. Since then when new terms have been borrowed they have come from Swedish. These loans from superstratum to substratum are mainly caused by need, by frequency of use, by prestige and by the need for spontaneity.

The most obvious reason for loans is the need to find new terms for new concepts. This forms the largest category of Swedish loans in Tornedalen Finnish. During this century thousands of new terms for new concepts have been borrowed from Swedish. An additional consequence of weak social diversification is that the substratum lacks an advanced social structure which can produce new concepts that can be borrowed by the superstratum language.

If the minority culture has not created the concept the new term must come from the dominating culture, or from the Standard form of the minority language. When Tornedalen Finnish was isolated from the linguistic development of the Standard language in Finland, Finnish became distant and strange, and hence isolation produced a resistance to loans from the Standard language. Since the early twentieth century Standard Swedish has been experienced as alienated from the minority area owing to its prestige and the frequent contacts. Furthermore, illiteracy in the minority language promotes borrowing of new terms from the dominant language. On the other hand, if the minority culture is technologically advanced and creates new concepts but does not invent new terms for them, it needs to borrow words.

It is mainly in the vocabulary of low frequency verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs where the language shift is rapid and strong. Words which people do not use daily are easy to forget and are easily replaced with a Swedish word. Television, radio, education, literacy and communications are important influences on the number of loans from the dominating language. Here we can easily find a high number of Swedish loans: *muutsvaarigheetti*, 'correspondent', *inteligäntti* 'intelligent', *sprookki* 'language', *plumma* 'flower', *möjlinen* 'possible', *vääkkorsninki* 'crossroads', and so forth.

The influence of prestige as a factor in language shift can be seen in the increasing number of Swedish loans in Tornedalen Finnish, and the lack of loans in the opposite direction. However, some Tornedalen Finnish loans do occur in the local Swedish variety. It is claimed that young boys need to rank and classify people, especially in their own group, by using language which may include deviating norms (Maltz et al. 1982:207). Teenagers may use norms contrary to what is regarded as conventional style, for example teenagers who want to mark distance from their parents and the older generations in general (Trudgill 1983:183; Boyd 1985:154). When speaking Swedish they may therefore use some harsh-sounding Tornedalen Finnish loans such as *huivi* or *hilkka* 'scarf', *hullu* 'mad', *naapukka* or *karvalakki* 'large fur hat', *veittä* 'knife, dagger', *huija* 'ooh; awful', *koppaskiiski* 'beetle', *ulosveisu* 'funeral procession with hymns', *hillamettä* 'lingonberry or cloudberry picking trip', etc. Some Tornedalen Finnish words can be transferred to Swedish because of their familiarity or because they are not easily translatable, such as *semmonen taihvaan* 'deviating in behaviour from the collective norm; habitually late; absent minded; strange', *kurkki* or *kurra* 'angry, cursed', *hulluna päissä* 'pissed, dead drunk', etc.

Prestige perhaps explains some obvious "unnecessary" loans in Tornedalen Finnish such as *mamma* 'mother' and *pappa* 'father'. The Standard Finnish terms *äiti* and *isä* were used by people born in the first decades of this century and earlier, but replaced by later generations. The words *äiti* and *isä* are now associated with grandparents. It is seen as old fashioned to use these words for young parents.

However, prestige does not fully explain all the Swedish loan words in Tornedalen Finnish. It cannot be the explanation, for example, for why Swedish *moone* 'moon' is sometimes preferred to the Finnish *kuu*. If the oral language has stronger associations between the term and the concept this might be one reason for seemingly unnecessary loans. Furthermore, we need the concept of spontaneity — in opposition to deliberate or planned usage — to explain the main stock of the "unnecessary" borrowing from Swedish. The Swedish and the Finnish words are often used in the same context. Because of the overwhelming dominance of Swedish in the public domain, lack of literacy in Finnish, and fluent literacy in Swedish it is easier to borrow a Swedish term whenever the Finnish equivalent does not spontaneously come to mind. Whenever a low frequency Tornedalen Finnish word is replaced with a Swedish loan it quickly generates new loans through the network of associations which surround it. The equivalent Finnish term, with its associative network, vanishes slowly. The frequency of use of a word determines its resistance to a loan.

An additional reason why "unnecessary" loans are used more frequently by the working class, compared with the bilingual middle class, is that metalinguistic awareness is weaker among the working class. If we assume that metalinguistic awareness, when developed, is a general feature and not particularly linked to linguistic behaviour it should influence all kinds of behaviour including personality. The level of metalinguistic awareness may therefore be influenced by the particular type of work. The skill of a practical worker requires low self awareness and use of spontaneous processes, e.g. a professional welder does not need to consciously direct the welding process. This may result in a lowered self awareness as well. On the other hand well educated people develop a high metalinguistic awareness in order to use the language as an explicit instrument in analyses. This may, in general terms, result in higher self awareness as well. Hence linguistic behaviour may reflect socially developed personality qualities.

Resistance to language shift

The most resistant categories in the spoken language are probably pronouns and function words. They are the last words still known and used in a substratum language before complete language death, especially personal pronouns (Haugen 1969; Thomasson and Kaufmann 1988). A common feature of both is that they are frequent, are used in both concrete and abstract speech, and are associated with individual emotions. There are hardly any loan words from Swedish or Sami in Tornedalen Finnish in these categories.

The next level of resistance in language shift is terms for body parts, such as head, foot, hand. In this category some Swedish loan words are used such as *lillfingeri* 'little finger' instead of Finnish *pikkusormi*, and Sami *jorva* 'hip, thigh' is used as commonly as Finnish *paisti*, *ronkka*. But Swedish and Sami loans are still rare in this domain.

Another category is not clearly defined and includes some contradictions but in general we can nonetheless identify a category that signifies persons, such as mother, father, grandfather, grandmother, hunter, fisher, etc. In this category, however, the words may be replaced for reasons of prestige. Therefore we can find several Swedish terms, such as *mummu* 'grandma' and *faari* 'grandpa'.

Terms relating to the world of nature, such as summer, winter, evening, moon and sun, should be fairly resistant to language shift and not susceptible to the influence of prestige. This category is always present in everyday life; the words are frequently used and therefore easy to remember. In its most central vocabulary this category has thus a very low frequency of Swedish terms.

All frequent and common verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives in everyday life — such as *syöä* 'eat', *katto* 'roof', *ruma* 'ugly', *huonosti* 'badly' — are resistant because of their familiarity and frequency. Nevertheless, some old Swedish loans exist in this category, such as *marsia* 'walk' and *praatia* 'talk'. However, some frequent verbs can be borrowed due to a need to signify a difference from the concept of the Finnish term, e.g. the recent Swedish loan *soovata* is used to mark a particular type of sleeping, as when a person sleeps too long or at the wrong time. Thus they are not synonyms, and do not replace an original term but extend the vocabulary by allowing fine distinctions in meaning to be made.

Other categories are also resistant to language shift, though to a lesser degree. These include placenames and names for flora and fauna — nature names are the oldest reflection of the original culture (Hock 1991). This can be noticed wherever two competing languages have existed (Winsa 1991). In the Torne Valley Sami words are consequently frequent in placenames and in some terms for flora and fauna. However, even placenames are slowly shifted or adapted to the rules of spelling and pronunciation of the dominating language and thus harmonized with the superstratum.

With changed socio-economic conditions many old placenames are forgotten when there is no longer any need to know the name of every land mark, field, stream or hill. This process of forgetting is ongoing in the Torne Valley where socio-economic development during the past four decades has seen a shift from nearly 100 per cent dependence on agricultural and forestry to a mechanized and modern society. The loggers, the recreation hunters and anglers use only a few of the placenames. A great many placenames are lost with the agricultural generation.

Names of flora and fauna often become placenames as descriptive signifiers for the place as well. Tornedalen Finnish has many Swedish loans for flora and also for names for birds and animals, but these are for the less well known ones. For the most part well known flora and fauna have kept their Finnish or Sami names, such as words for trees, attractive fishes, birds that are hunted, well known insects, e.g. Tornedalen Finnish *mänty* 'pine', *aihki* 'old big pine', *koiju* 'birch', *lohi* 'salmon', *hauki* 'pike', *metto* 'great wood grouse, capercailzie', *koppelo* 'female capercailzie' and *sääski* 'mosquito'.

Some Sami loans are found in Tornedalen Finnish in domains such as placenames, hunting, fishing, clothing, cookery and reindeer herding. The first settlers developed ways of living suitable for the arctic climate and these were transferred to the newcomers. A few of the terms in reindeer herding are therefore also borrowed into Swedish.

The process of language shift

During the 1960s — and to some extent still — competence in Finnish was linked to level of education. With increasing education, mastery in Finnish will decline. Today the situation has changed to some extent — now there is a small well educated group who have mastered Tornedalen Finnish extremely well, while knowledge of Finnish is decreasing among the younger age groups.

Among younger people up to the age of 20–30 active competence in Finnish is generally low. Mostly only those with one or both parents born in Finland can speak fluent Finnish. Gradually Tornedalen Finnish is being found in fewer domains, while Swedish penetrates and becomes dominant in the former Finnish domains; a natural process in language shifts (Appel et al. 1987:41). The next step in the language shift will be that Finnish is used as an extra language where Swedish cannot be used. Finnish as a receptive and meagre active language is probably the last step before a complete language death — noticed in other linguistic minorities (Dorian 1981:114). Swedish is gradually replacing the original language of the community, and it is common to find speakers of quite different abilities among the residual population which still speaks the minority language. In particular this process is common in communities with more heterogeneous populations.

The next generations — if this process continues — will not experience Tornedalen Finnish in everyday life. But as long as their elders speak Tornedalen Finnish, cross-marriages are frequent, and Finnish immigrants settle in the Swedish Torne Valley, then Tornedalen Finnish will survive in Matarenki and other border communities, but its active domains will become narrower.

How strongly Finnish is maintained in each village is proportional to the number of people in the village. With increasing population Swedish grows in dominance so that in larger villages and small cities Swedish has the stronger position. Finnish shrinks to the family domain, among the closest friends and among older speakers only. The Swedish-speaking group has a social identity without the same differentiation in language use between private and public settings, whereas the minority group experiences a great discrepancy between private and public life. This lowers their confidence in public, but the cause of the difficulty of speaking in public is projected onto the minority language. The minority language becomes a scapegoat for failures, low self esteem and alienation. Minority speakers imagine that by becoming monolingual they will gain confidence in public.

Tornedalian children are indeed becoming members of the monolingual Swedish society, not as part of mainstream Swedish life as the parents had hoped, but as members of the Swedish-speaking Tornedalian group. Social identity is related to that background and not to public life. They are, however, to some extent more comfortable than Finnish speakers when in public, due to being more like the dominating culture.

Language shift in Aapua

> "What did you do when you taught your child to speak Swedish?" (Said by a mother to another mother in the 1950s.)

This description of language shift among the inhabitants of Aapua is to a large extent paralleled by the same processes elsewhere in the Torne Valley. The ongoing language

shift in Aapua (and small villages in general) is proceeding some decades later than in larger villages. The impact of Swedish has been smaller in Aapua, but certain new ideas have become somewhat rooted in collective habits, and changed language maintenance slightly in a different direction. The inhabitants of Aapua are to some extent pacesetters in linguistic attitudes because of the fact that the office of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association is located in the village.

All the original inhabitants of Aapua older than about 30 have Tornedalen Finnish as their everyday language. People between 20–30 understand it, but only some of them speak it. Nearly everyone younger than 20 prefers Swedish.

In the 1950s the use of Swedish became valued by the group in bringing children up. People in Aapua in general spoke Finnish with their children until the end of the 1950s, but mainly Swedish to children born in the 1960s and later. There are naturally some exceptions to this who still transmit active Finnish to their children. In the study conducted in the 1960s nearly all parents who were about 25 almost without exception spoke Swedish with their children (Jaakkola 1969:40). In the larger village of Matarenki, educated people started to speak only Swedish with their children earlier than parents in Aapua (Wande 1984b:175). Children born in the 1960s and later have acquired Finnish from older generations, in the playground and among friends.

The first decade of language shift went in two directions: public pressure caused Swedish to be used as a home language, whereas group pressure resulted in a switch from Swedish to Finnish in the playground. Finnish had been a forbidden language in the playground until 1957, but the first generation of children whose parents spoke to them in Swedish in the early years at home spoke Finnish at school in the playground. This meant that many had to change languages when communicating with their parents.

The first generation of Swedish speakers was in the minority in the playground and thus tended to be assimilated with the Finnish-speaking group. Finnish at that time was still the dominant language even outside the family, and the pupils tended to identify their language behaviour with their older friends. This has also been found in other studies (Boyd 1987:193ff.). There was peer pressure to use the language of the group (Boyd 1985:154).

The language shift to Swedish continued and it penetrated rapidly into the playground and became the dominant language. The children born in the early 1960s who first spoke Finnish in the playground shifted to Swedish when younger pupils entered school and spoke solely Swedish; although many maintained their Finnish during primary school. Then a new generation emerged in Aapua, beginning with those born in 1966 who began school in 1973. They spoke mainly Swedish at junior and intermediate levels (grades 1–6). Rönmark and Wikström (1980:65) claim that the last pupils who had Finnish as their best language were born in 1968. However, often the children shifted to Finnish in the senior level (grades 7–9) of primary school. The process continued and Swedish penetrated even senior level. The inhabitants in Aapua who were born in the middle of the 1970s no longer spoke Finnish when they went to the senior level school in Svanstein, the church village of Aapua.

Until 1957 when Finnish was permitted in the school playground it was never used in the teachers' staffroom. However, about the time it vanished from the playground it

often became an everyday language spoken in the staffroom. In Matarenki some teachers claim that Finnish has never been spoken as much among teachers as today.

In other places where language use in schools was studied, the pace of language shift varied somewhat from that in Aapua. In some villages in the municipalities of Pajala, Övertorneå and Haparanda the pupils in fourth grade still spoke partly in Finnish in the 1970s (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:29). In the 1980s only Pajala municipality had pupils who spoke Finnish in the playground, but only from fourth grade and upwards, not at junior level (Slunga 1986a). However, villages such as Mudoslompolo and Karesuando, in the northernmost part of the Torne Valley, were excluded from that study.

Today Swedish is spoken in the playground nearly everywhere, except in Haparanda which has a high percentage of Finnish immigrants, and — according to a local priest — some villages along the Finnish border in the most northern parts of the Torne Valley. These villages are perhaps at the same stage in the process of language shift as Aapua was in the 1960s.

Differences in language behaviour between the sexes were also noticed in Aapua. In general, boys in the 1960s tended to speak Finnish more in the playground (Jaakkola 1969; Wande 1984a:172; Slunga 1986a:2). Boys in grades 7–9 often felt that Finnish should only be spoken among boys. Swedish was preferred in communication with girls, who favoured Swedish although they understood and sometimes were even more proficient in Finnish. The tendency to talk the most prestigious language with girls has also been noticed in other bilingual societies (Giles 1975:16–17).

Boys also preferred Finnish in story telling and jokes. Jokes are commonly told in the minority language, a feature found in other minority languages (e.g. Trudgill 1983:131, 134; Dorian 1981:78).

> "The boys flirted with girls in Swedish, but joked in Finnish." (Male, 35 years, Aapua.)

In Aapua Swedish has spread into several former Finnish-speaking domains. In the early 1980s a rapid language shift took place in the football team in Aapua. Many players who lived in Luleå and other towns had Swedish as their dominant language. They were leaders in the language shift. By the late 1980s Swedish had become the dominant language. Today only some of the older players lead the team with some Finnish words. The spectators also use some Finnish words in shouting, describing and directing the play.

Influence of returners and monolinguals on language shift

One influence on the ongoing language shift is the migration of former local people back to their home villages. In the 1970s and early 1980s a number of individuals and families moved from the orefields and from cities back to their home villages. The reason for their return was the general recession in the economy and high unemployment rates. Their young children had low active proficiency in Tornedalen Finnish, due to their environment where Swedish dominated in nearly every domain, except within families and with closest friends and relatives. After some years many of these children shifted to active Finnish and became often bilinguals or even more fluent in Finnish. But some of the returners had been in monolingual cities where Swedish dominated

even within the family, especially if one of the family members was monolingual in Swedish. Their children have often not changed language; this has also been noticed in other studies (Boyd 1985:150; Appel et al. 1987:35). Furthermore, the social position of the returners determines the Finnish competence of the children. Children of parents with middle class occupations are more inclined to become monolinguals; this pattern can be seen in Aapua, Matarenki and among immigrants in Sweden (Boyd 1985:150).

The returners' children in Aapua are about 25–35 years old now, mainly with a receptive knowledge of Finnish. They have raised children who basically have not acquired any receptive knowledge of Finnish, due to the parents' use of Swedish within the family, and Finnish if necessary only in other contacts outside the family.

Another influence on language shift comes from Swedish monolinguals who do not like Finnish, partly because of their feeling of alienation from the collective life of the village and partly from fear that people use their bilingual advantage to gossip and insult them in their presence but not understood by them. The monolinguals have mainly married into a local family and are represented in almost every village. They often demand, with the help of their higher linguistic prestige, that Tornedalians speak only Swedish in their presence, and not the "gibberish local speech", even if the talk is not directed to themselves. Normally Tornedalians feel constrained to shift to Swedish even in interactions where they are in the majority. Thus the monolinguals establish new domains for Swedish. In addition, they are role models for younger people, showing how they can demand "pure" Swedish whenever they are present; this also has been noticed in other studies (Boyd 1985:184; Romaine 1989:49; Dorian 1981:79).

Language shift within the family: two case studies

By describing two fairly typical case studies we can gain a relatively good picture of language shift in the whole Torne Valley over two generations.

First generation

Stina was born in 1952 in a village with about 100 inhabitants in Pajala municipality, about 100 km from the Finnish border. Her parents were both Finnish-speaking and she has no relatives from Finland. It is fairly typical that the distance from the Finnish border predicts how many Finnish relatives the person has. In villages near the border cross-marriages are frequent. Villages further from the border had immigration from Finland mainly during the Second World War and the years following it.

Stina had nine sisters and one brother. The eldest sister was born in 1931, so that 21 years separated the youngest and oldest in the family. This generation of children born before the 1960s quite often belonged to large families, due to the particular religion and traditions. Her parents were ahead of the trend to language shift when they spoke Swedish with her during her early years. Thus she could speak Swedish when she went to school, but she shifted to Finnish early and always spoke Finnish with her parents. Finnish was probably the more common language in the parents' relationship with her brother.

She has one sister living in the home village. This family has lived in southern Sweden and their child cannot speak Finnish. Another sister lives in a village near Matarenki. This sister's sons who were also born in the late 1950s and early 1960s speak good Finnish. The other sisters and brother live in different places in the Finnish-speaking area. Their children's competence in Finnish is comparable with that of

her own children. Their Finnish competence depends on whether the other parent comes from Swedish-speaking areas. If one parent is monolingual then the parents have mostly spoken Swedish and the children have not acquired a similar level of receptive competence in Finnish. Stina speaks Swedish with one sister whose husband is from Kalix. With all the rest she speaks Finnish.

She married a man from the neighbouring village and always speaks Finnish with him. His parents also spoke only Finnish and had no relatives from Finland. Stina claims to be satisfied with her linguistic competence, and has never studied Finnish in school. Her Tornedalen Finnish is more fluent than her Swedish, she swears in Finnish and prefers to be angry in Finnish. She understands and speaks good Tornedalen Finnish, according to her self rating. Her understanding of Standard Finnish is also good, although she has great problems in speaking it. Her reading and writing proficiency in Finnish is quite weak. She said she has only written one letter to a friend in Finland, but it was a laborious effort. She watches Finnish television quite often, but can only sometimes read the Finnish subtitles of foreign language programs. She has read some magazines and newspapers in Finnish. She finished gymnasium and works in the local post office where Swedish is the most common language among the employees. Finnish is naturally important with the public in her occupation.

Stina and her husband, who runs a private building firm, have lived in Matarenki since 1979 and brought up three children. Swedish has been the only language spoken to the children, but Finnish is the parents' language, sometimes as a secret language. Finnish has also been the common language among the friends of the parents. Their children speak only Swedish with their friends and in the playground. However, the children acquired some receptive Finnish from the parents' talk, and some partly active competence from a former neighbour from Finland whose children spoke Finnish. Thus at least one of their children acquired Finnish from immigrants. It is fairly typical in Matarenki that children have some contact with children of Finnish immigrants and learn the language of the parents.

Stina's oldest child, born in 1972, has great problems speaking Finnish, but understands everyday speech fairly well. She cannot write in Finnish and her reading proficiency in it is limited. The second child was born in 1976. She speaks Finnish even less well, but she understands everyday speech fairly well. The third child was born in 1982. Her speaking ability in Finnish is also meagre, but she understands fairly well. None of the children has studied Finnish in school.

One of their reasons for speaking only Swedish with their children — besides the general demand for Swedish — arose from the debate in the 1960s when they heard that children would be semilinguals if they learnt both languages. Thus their idea was to first teach their children the most important language, Swedish, and then, if possible, Finnish. A generally accepted idea in the Torne Valley has been that Finnish should be acquired informally, from friends, in the playground, at work, or from grandparents. This was a common opinion among parents during the 1960s, 1970s and even now. Stina is positive towards the idea that the children know Tornedalen Finnish as well, but her husband does not see any reason why it would be an advantage. If they were to learn any Finnish it should be Standard Finnish, he argues. However, both maintain that they have personally had advantages from competence in Finnish, but that Tornedalen Finnish should only be understood as a dialect. Stina does not know if Tornedalen Finnish is an important language in the Torne Valley. She has some feeling of shame because she cannot speak Swedish without an accent, however. That is a

negative consequence of bilingualism, she argues, and believes that some people feel shame in the Torne Valley because of it.

Most of the friends of the family speak and understand Finnish, because people born in the 1950s generally have Finnish as their mother tongue. The family has mostly lived in the Finnish-speaking area, except for some years in southern Sweden. One of their neighbours, from a monolingual area, does not know Finnish. All the monolingual adults that she knows are from southern Sweden. The first contact with a stranger is always in Swedish first, then they shift to Finnish if both have similar proficiency. According to the couple's opinion the spoken Finnish is better in Matarenki than in their respective home villages, about 150 km north-west from Matarenki.

They have a small summer cottage in her home village and Stina's husband also visits his home village. Finnish is the common language in those villages in this generation.

Second generation

Eva was born nearly 20 years later, in 1970, and thus she belongs to a later generation. She has only one brother, and represents the modern Torne Valley family. Her home village is located 20 km north of Matarenki, close to the Finnish border. She has lived in Matarenki since 1990. Her parents are from villages nearby, and she has close relatives in Finland. She is a student at the school of education in Luleå. Her aim was to attend the special course where they learn Tornedalen Finnish as a home language. This would have helped her to find a job as a teacher in the Torne Valley, but the course was not held the year she entered. She has a pragmatic approach towards Tornedalen Finnish as a home language.

Eva's parents spoke only Swedish with her, but Finnish or a mixture of both languages with each other. However, nowadays they respond in Tornedalen Finnish when she says something in Swedish. Her father thinks more in Tornedalen Finnish than her mother does, she says. She learned Finnish from her mother's father who lived on the Finnish side of the Torne Valley, where Finnish was the everyday language and where she spent four summers. Her grandparents spoke only Finnish with her during her early years, except her mother's mother who spoke Swedish at first although her Swedish was not fluent, and later a little Finnish. She thus acquired both languages during her childhood, but Swedish was clearly dominant.

She addresses her boyfriend, who lives in Matarenki, with a Finnish pet name. He is also from a village nearby. He studied Finnish as a foreign language for one year in gymnasium and can speak and understand Standard Finnish little better than she can. He has a garage. Many customers come from Finland and he tries to address them in their mother tongue. Finnish competence among Eva's peers varies greatly. Some speak it well, some fairly well, and others not at all. She and her boyfriend speak Swedish almost exclusively with their friends and with each other. All her neighbours speak quite good Finnish. It is more Finland Finnish in Matarenki compared with her home village, she says. She believes that in her age group more boys than girls speak Finnish. Her friend is married to a boy from Finland. She believes that although Finnish females still dominate in cross-marriages the numbers are more equal nowadays.

Swedish had already been the general language for at least a decade among adolescents and in the playground at school when Eva grew up. She was surprised when she

just recently discovered that all people who are older than about 30 speak Finnish with their friends. She had never realized that the area was Finnish-speaking one generation before her, and that she is among the first generation of Swedish speakers. She claims to speak quite bad Finnish, but understands it fairly well. The same goes for her brother, born in 1975. Her reading and writing competence is limited, however, but she reads the Finnish part of the local newspaper, and says she has nearly mastered the Finnish subtitles of foreign language programs on Finnish television, although she does not watch often. She did not study Finnish in school. She also understands Standard Finnish fairly well, but is not satisfied with her language competence in Finnish or English. Although she has great problems in speaking Finnish she feels it is ridiculous to speak English with Finns in Finland. It feels wrong, she argues. She is positive towards Tornedalen Finnish and would put her own children in home language instruction, but does not believe that she would never speak Finnish with a child herself. She has experienced the advantages of having competence in Finnish, and believes Finnish is an important language in the Torne Valley. To hear Tornedalen Swedish on television sounds awful, she says, but she does not know if Tornedalians feel ashamed of their Finnish — perhaps they do. Although few speak Finnish among her generation and no change is visible she still believes that Finnish will survive, but will be spoken by fewer people.

Prestige in Tornedalen Finnish

Covert and overt prestige among males

One possible reason why boys in general have greater proficiency in active Finnish is the boys' closer contact with men, as, for example, in work, hunting, fishing and sports. In many occupations Finnish is essential and strongly context bound to the particular practical work, especially in fields such as reindeer herding. In these domains it is sometimes hard to shift language owing to the lack of special terms in the other language. If a young boy wants to participate in the same occupations as his father and other admired men, Finnish is an important factor in their group identity. It is a common occurrence that minority languages survive best in particular occupations where it has been used as a part of occupational skills, e.g. Sami has been best preserved in reindeer herding; Suderland Gaelic was strongly connected with fishermen (Dorian 1981); Tornedalen Finnish is associated with hunting, forestry, agriculture and fishing. In elk hunting, for instance, Finnish is used frequently on the walkie-talkies, not to mention all the chatting, story telling, jokes and hunting parties.

During puberty awareness of a social personality is heightened. This growing self awareness can be described as a process whereby the person can monitor himself from a distance and see himself as the Other being. Through this self monitoring one gains access to speech in the form of meta-awareness. Thus they can treat the language as an object in its own right. This monitoring capacity is probably directly linked to a general increased self awareness. However, with the monitoring competence one's self esteem is often put into question due to awareness of a broad range of possible practices and identities. Earlier self image was not reflected on; it was mainly a direct product of the social background. This increased awareness of body, clothes, speech, actions and

friends and other people will cause vulnerability and sensitivity to what is suitable in the group. The group will prescribe more of the behaviour than it had done earlier. The monitor must rank possible identities by giving them different values, and the best available identity is projected onto other persons or groups. Adult males with the ascribed prestige are the role models of young boys.

Males in general — at least in younger age groups — are more predisposed than females to perceive themselves as group members (Horwitz et al. 1982:262). It is particularly visible in adolescent boys' play and practices: boys in general exhibit a stronger will to compete within the group compared with girls, for example. Competition classifies the individuals in hierarchical order (Maltz et al. 1984:207). Thus it should follow that the group itself is compared with other groups: admired adult males are examples of how to behave and what should be imitated. If status in the men's world collides with public opinion in general, that in itself results in covert prestige; a behaviour which cannot be overt because it is poorly valued by the dominant society and thus competes with and challenges the majority's point of view. Boys are therefore more inclined to conform to the ingroup's norms, and to idealize men's habits and strive to integrate the models' practices into their own action. Conforming to adult males' traditions, customs and habits is therefore a natural part of the maturation process. Support for this perspective can be seen in the fact that, when Tornedalen Finnish gained higher prestige, it became more popular among young boys who basically are monolinguals to have some proficiency in Tornedalen Finnish.

> "I have forbidden my father to speak any Swedish to me." (A teenage boy in Kainulasjärvi; said in Swedish.)

The initial response to the role model is imitation. This requires focusing attention on particular features and an exaggeration of the linguistic practice until it is an automatized habit, to exhibit membership of the group. In other words the process of imitation is instrumental and a means to a motivated end, whereas the men's behaviour is more an end in itself (Maslow 1954:186).

Within the adolescent group there is a continuous mode of competition. It is argued that men are more motivated by ambition, and therefore use more competitive, attacking conversational strategies (Trudgill 1983:167). "Privately and subconsciously, a large number of male speakers are more concerned with acquiring prestige of the covert sort and with signalling group solidarity than with obtaining social status, as this is usually defined" (Trudgill 1983:177).

It is suggested that non-standard speech often gains covert prestige and is felt to be more macho, e.g. the use of non-standard speech forms in Norwich working class culture (Trudgill 1983:168, 172ff.). The opposite should then be that Standard English is more associated with female speech (Edwards and Giles 1984:132). Analogously, Tornedalen Finnish should be associated with male speech, and Swedish with female speech.

The ingroup norms explain why boys born in the 1960s and later who have remained in the villages have changed their language from Swedish to Finnish, in spite of the trend during that time for parents to speak Swedish with their children. The age when language shift takes place is steadily increasing, and has nearly completely stopped in the last decade. Many Tornedalians have changed their language in the last

three decades, but in the opposite direction than has been predicted. Finnish for many of them is now more fluent than their first language.

Females and language prestige

A clear difference is found between the sexes with respect to assimilation: women in general assimilate faster than men, a phenomenon also noticed in a number of minorities (Lindgren 1984:296). In a number of studies it has also been noticed that females in general follow common and widespread linguistic prestige norms (Giles 1975:40; Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977:179; Paunonen 1982:94); though Trudgill, for example, found that "for male speakers, and for female speakers under 30, non-standard working class Norwich English speech forms are highly valued, although these values are not usually overtly expressed" (Trudgill 1983:185).

Linguistic behaviour reflects social position and gender differences. However, one explanation for females' alleged greater sensitivity to prestige features is a difference in jobs. Females' occupations are said to be under greater social control because they are in closer contact with other people, and this forces them to adapt more to prestige norms, e.g. as waitresses or shop assistants (Nuolijärvi 1986:218). Furthermore, girls tend to form smaller groups with other females of the same age, with less hierarchical competition (Maltz et al. 1984:204–5). It seems that they have fewer common group interests where adult women can transmit the local variety or language to them. Moreover, girls perhaps have less or a different admiration for women's labour and interests, where the minority language is often not indispensable.

If they have less competition between covert and overt features they consequently can project their desires onto one language group and are not divided between the values of the ingroup and society as a whole. Personal ambitions are favoured in Swedish outside the life of the village. Ingroup language behaviour can be a burden outside the group.

> "Girls like to speak more Swedish because it is felt as a pleasurable language in the 'big world'." (Male, Aapua.)

In the Torne Valley the debate on female language behaviour has become a subject for discussion. Some men argue that language behaviour is a reflection of other social behaviour, that the differences reflect the differences in social life between the sexes.

> "It is nicer for girls to speak Swedish, that corresponds with girls' greater attention to nice clothing. Boys don't care at all for aesthetic values in clothing." (Male, 35 years, Aapua.)

From this perspective we should not differentiate between aesthetic values and possessed prestige. Girls in general do not regard Tornedalen Finnish as tough, but are more inclined to mainstream their language behaviour in accordance with the general norm.

Some other men claimed that female attitudes to language are a reflection of their greater desire to read about movie stars and prominent people and yearn for their way of living. For example, they are inclined to marry an older man who possesses status, wealth and fame. On the other hand a young man would not accept an older woman, although she is famous and rich, another man asserted. Men seek beautiful women;

women seek high prestige men (Nichols 1978:46). The prestige possessed by languages reflects — according to these informants — the female's and male's different desire for and daydreams of a better or at least different life. This is also asserted by female researchers; e.g. Schlieben-Lange (1977:104–5) believes that women are much more concerned about upward mobility than men are, and speaking a "correct" majority language is a condition and a symbol of the status they aspire to.

Females in general are regarded as having more talent at learning new languages and are therefore more conscious and aware of their linguistic behaviour (Edwards 1979:92–3; Klann-Delius 1987:767ff.). Perhaps a more developed linguistic awareness also produces an improved capacity for self monitoring. This could explain why females seem to be more able to shift between different styles. Labov found that "in careful speech women used fewer stigmatized forms, but in shifting between casual and careful styles, women showed sharper shifts from stigmatized forms to prestige forms than did men. Lower middle class women showed the most extreme style shifts" (quoted in Nichols 1978:45).

This difference between the sexes is also visible within families. If the whole family lives in Finnish-speaking areas it is more common to speak Swedish with sisters than with brothers. The difference is marked if the brothers and sisters move to Swedish-speaking regions. When they maintain contact with people in their former village, as a general rule men continue to speak Finnish with those they had always spoken Finnish with. Females, on the other hand, shift to Swedish almost completely even if they maintain contact with friends from the home village. In addition, if the brothers and sisters have contact with each other in the new environment it is the brothers who tend to maintain Finnish, whereas communication between sister and brother outside the Finnish-speaking area is almost totally in Swedish. In 1966 it was also typical that females spoke more Swedish within the family and outside family life (Jaakkola 1969:47).

The shrinking domains of Tornedalen Finnish

Language use in public

In Matarenki the dominant language in public is Swedish. Some older people use only Finnish in public, for example when they go shopping because they know that the shop assistants understand Finnish, but mostly even the older generations use predominantly Swedish or both languages. As expected, younger people almost without exception speak only Swedish in public.

> "We were better people in Matarenki and spoke Swedish." (Common knowledge in Matarenki.)
>
> "They consider that Matarenki is more fashionable." (Common saying in the villages.)

Overall people older than 30 years use Finnish in shops and in the post office nearly as much as they did during the 1960s. At that time 56 per cent spoke only Swedish in shops (Jaakkola 1973:69). However, it seems that Finnish is used more today in shops in Matarenki. In 1966, 91 per cent in Matarenki claimed that they

shopped in Swedish, whereas in Aapua 62 per cent shopped in Finnish and 33 per cent in Swedish (Jaakkola 1969:135). However, Finns who have been living for some years in Sweden try to speak Swedish in public locations such as the post office and shops despite the fact that the staff are able to speak Finnish; they use it as a social marker of Swedish citizenship.

In Matarenki it is sometimes claimed that Swedish is more common in the centre around the church, school and library, whereas Finnish is spoken more on the outskirts, e.g. in Turovaara where the working class and especially Finns live.

A common opinion among teachers and administrators in schools and other public fields is that Finnish has become more popular officially. Earlier one would hardly ever hear Finnish in the staffrooms in schools or other institutions where educated people were gathered. The shift took place after 1981 when the Swedish Tornedalians' Association was established and when Tornedalian activists deliberately started to use Tornedalen Finnish in public domains. In the beginning they met a great deal of resistance, but this softened and changed slowly. Now the teachers use Finnish in phrases, short utterances, and even for full communication if it is felt to be more appropriate. This change in behaviour probably reflects the generally extended use of Finnish in other public domains.

In Aapua the situation is more clearcut. Everyone who normally uses Finnish as an everyday language speaks mainly Finnish in the local shop and with the postman. However, in formal meetings both languages occur.

Deviations from the norm are to be found among Finnish immigrants. Immigrant parents tend to speak more Finnish with their children. There is a widespread consensus among parents born in Finland that Finnish is an important language for their children. This is reflected in the proportion of pupils with a Finnish background in home language instruction in Övertorneå. Only one of the pupils in primary school in Övertorneå who participated in home language instruction in Finnish in 1991 had neither parent from Finland. In this respect there has been an obvious change of attitudes and behaviour. In the 1960s, when home language instruction did not exist, immigrants were more inclined to speak broken Swedish with their children (Jaakkola 1969:44).

Knowledge of Finnish is demanded in service occupations such as shops, petrol stations, tourist offices, the centre for Nordic workers where the pupils can learn a new practical skill, etc. It is more common for private companies to require proficiency in Finnish, because of the fact that many of the customers are Finnish-speaking or Finnish citizens. Mostly these employees are from families in which at least one parent was originally a Finnish citizen.

In public institutions the requirement for Finnish competence is of less importance, unless it is an obvious necessity, e.g. in tourist offices. Administrators of public institutions have less personal responsibility for the economy; that is probably one reason why knowledge of Finnish was discontinued as a requirement in applications for work in 1987. Another reason is that monolinguals tend to be found in higher management positions. In private occupational fields there is probably a direct relationship between skill in Finnish and income. Nowadays people, even native Tornedalians, have been rejected for certain types of employment due to lack of proficiency in Finnish. The Finnish language will become an advantage for the well educated class as

well as for Finnish immigrants. This obviously favours the maintenance of the Finnish language.

Locations where Tornedalen Finnish is acquired

The main place to acquire Tornedalen Finnish is at home — this was the experience of about 80 per cent of those surveyed. However, those who never heard their parents speak Finnish had frequent opportunities to learn it outside the family, often in different localities, although seldom in school. Some of the informants learned Finnish in several locations and from contacts with different people. Often Finnish was learned by accident. The person perhaps had a Finnish neighbour, or a Finnish friend in gymnasium, or happened to be interested of farming where Finnish was spoken, etc. Until recent decades very few had deliberately tried to learn Finnish. Instead, Finnish was learned as a by-product of other social and occupational activities, especially in Matarenki where broader contacts with strangers are more frequent.

Two young people had learned Finnish in work on a relative's farm. Four people had spent long periods during early childhood with their grandparents, especially during summertime. One girl acquired Finnish from her elder sisters. Five people had come in contact with Finnish in the playground through Finnish-speaking neighbours' children. Seven people had learned their second language in the playground in school, or among other students in secondary school. One elder person, who was originally monolingual in Swedish, had learned Finnish in his occupation. One person had been listening intensively and asking her friends wherever there was an opportunity to learn Finnish, at home, in school or in her occupation. Two people had learned from their father, one of them only in talk with the father in the sauna. One person had learned Finnish when travelling to Finland almost every weekend for dancing.

Probably almost every one of those who had grown up in a Finnish-speaking environment had at least a receptive knowledge of Finnish which they were not always aware of. For the most part they got their receptive knowledge at home.

Swedish, on the other hand, was acquired in school by people older than 40 (about 55 per cent in this study), whereas since the 1960s the home has become the most important place to acquire Swedish.

The use of Finnish in particular domains

Figure 20 shows which language people prefer to use with strangers from the Finnish-speaking area. Younger people almost without exception speak only Swedish with strangers. However, in Aapua Finnish is more common as the first contact with strangers.

Especially among younger people it is common to respond in Swedish, for example when the parents speak Finnish to them, or even when they are addressed in Finnish by others.

Younger people in particular held the opinion that Finnish and Swedish were equal, as Table 7 shows. Often they had not thought about it, and for that reason may have had another answer if they had discussed the subject. This lack of awareness is a source of misinterpretations.

Table 7: Do you prefer to talk Finnish/Swedish in particular situations?

Swedish at work	25%
It is all the same	13%
Swedish everywhere	11%
Finnish as a secret language	11%

Almost everyone believes that Swedish is the only language when parents talk to their children, except for some parents who were born in Finland. There is a sharp difference if the parents are the first, second or third generations of immigrants. The first generation often speaks Finnish while the later generations use Swedish to an increasing extent.

Three of the informants spoke Finnish with their children. This was a deliberate decision arising from the debate on Tornedalen Finnish. Other parents had tried to speak Finnish with their children but had not succeeded. They often aimed to speak "real" Standard Finnish to them, though they could hardly speak that variety themselves. The result was obvious: within months they stopped the experiment and switched over to fluent Swedish with the children and spoke fluent Tornedalen Finnish with the other spouse.

In one family only the father was able to speak Finnish. The mother could not understand Finnish at all, but tried to support the father's learning by stressing its importance.

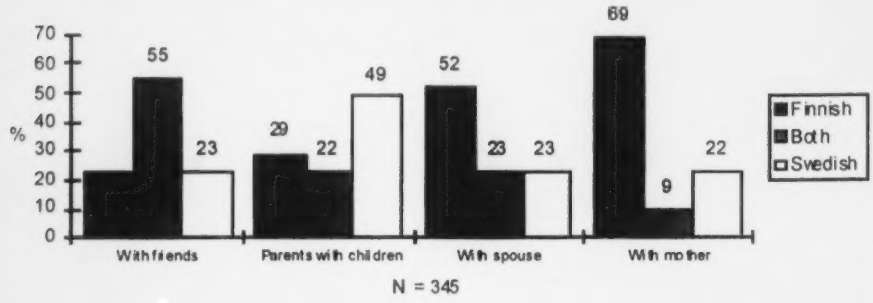
Occasionally also some monolingual parents encouraged the staff in preschools to transmit Finnish to their monolingual children. This is a clear difference from the 1960s when hardly anybody stressed Finnish in preschools or in homes, especially monolinguals in Matarenki.

To some extent Finnish immigrants have changed their attitudes. In the 1960s they tended to speak Swedish with their children. Nowadays few believe that the children will not acquire Swedish and can therefore rely upon their receiving it from their friends and in school. One explanation for the change of attitudes could be that Finnish was a dominant language in the 1960s but is now becoming more of a family language and used among closest friends. The activity of the Finnish associations in Sweden has probably been partly responsible for disseminating new ideas on bilingualism.

Acceptance of Tornedalen Finnish, however, is restricted to the spoken domain. When, for example, the Haparanda local radio had an advertizement with the headline written in Tornedalen Finnish, many citizens became upset and angry (*Met-aviisi* 1993:4). A similar response was evident when a Tornedalian deliberately wrote a note to her neighbour with one sentence in Tornedalen Finnish. The neighbour said angrily that she could read Swedish.

Figure 21 shows the different functions for which Finnish and Swedish were used in 1966. Figures 22 and 23 show responses to the same question in 1991–92 in Matarenki and in Aapua.

Figure 21. The different functions of Swedish and Finnish 1966



Source: Jaakkola 1973:69, table 32.

Figure 22. The different functions of Swedish and Finnish, Matarenki 1992

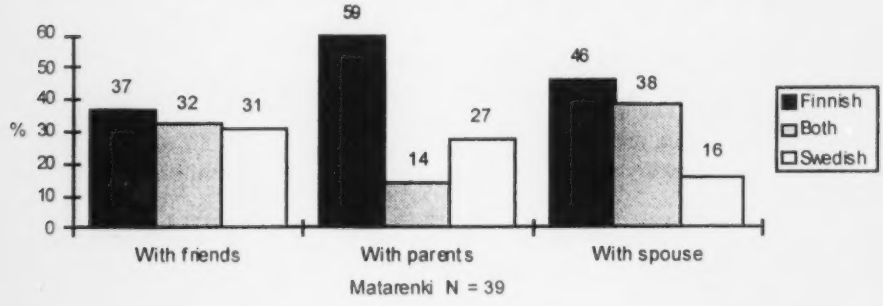
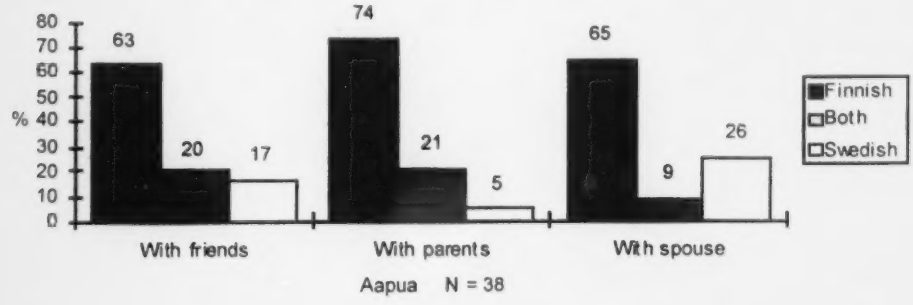


Figure 23. The different functions of Swedish and Finnish, Aapua 1992



We should note that the answers from 1991–92 reflect those who are able to participate in an interview in Finnish.

Figure 24. Other functions of Swedish and Finnish

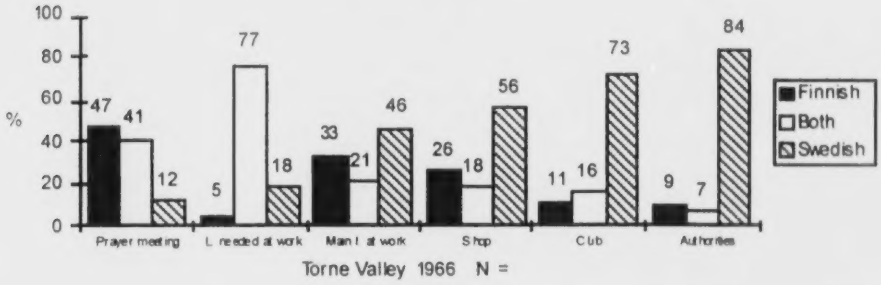


Figure 24 shows the different functions for which Finnish and Swedish were used in 1966. Today there are rarely prayers in Finnish in Matarenki. In Svanstein, the nearby village, they still have about one prayer meeting a month in the church, but very few attend it. The prayer meetings in Aapua came to an end in 1991.

Nobody in Aapua preferred Finnish prayers in the church. The older people thought that the languages were equally acceptable and that it was unimportant which language was used.

Requirement for Finnish competence in particular occupations

In the Torne Valley many service occupations have had a requirement for competence in Finnish. As early as 1686 relevant language competence was required of priests applying to work in Lappland (Slunga 1965:159). In reality it became hard to find enough priests with competence in either Finnish or Sami. A persistent Swedicization effort was suggested to solve the problem. In 1959 the regulation for linguistic competence among priests was once again renewed. Today priests are supposed to be bilingual, and receive a slightly higher salary if they are. The church can, however, make exceptions from the requirement for competence in Finnish (Mettävainio, orally, Luleå diocese).

However, doctors, teachers, judges and people in other professional occupations have in general always had an almost complete lack of competence in Finnish. Because of this, in 1869 the first regulation was introduced requiring competence in Finnish or Sami in the Finnish- and Sami-speaking municipalities when an appointment was made to a professional position (Tenerz 1963:306; Slunga 1965:154). However, it was not a requirement but a deciding factor if applicants' other merits were equal. In 1930 it was renewed: "reasonable consideration" of Finnish should be taken for every appointment in service or other similar jobs. In reality competence in Finnish has only been an important qualification for teachers in junior and intermediate levels (Slunga 1965:161). It is claimed that in practice it was an advantage to be monolingual with

no competence in Finnish because the pupils were thus forced to learn Swedish from the teacher, and that a monolingual teacher would speak proper Swedish without the Finnish accent that many bilingual teachers had (Tenerz 1963:323). This pedagogic idea was reported as early as the 1910s (SOU 1921).

In the 1940s only about 40 per cent of teachers had competence in Finnish (Tenerz 1963). In a study from 1968, 46 per cent of the teachers in the Finnish-speaking municipalities had Finnish or both languages as their mother tongue/s (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:15).

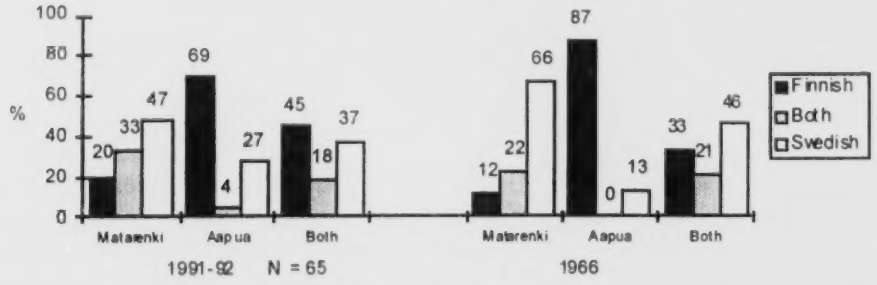
In 1987 the explicit requirement for Finnish was abolished and only good competence in general was required (Pekkari, orally). However, because of the hostile attitudes towards Finnish held by the (often monolingual) officials of the county, Finnish competence has in practice often been a burden for any applicant for a job where Finnish proficiency was officially required (Tenerz 1963:347). For instance when appointing the last school inspector in 1980 the County Board of Education and the national Board of Education suggested a monolingual, but they were overruled by the Minister of Education (*Met-aviisi* 1993:2). The local authorities had held the same hostile attitudes towards bilingual applicants for the same job at least in 1938 and 1974 when bilingual Tornedalians applied for the job — the Board of Education was negative towards the bilingual applicant in 1938. On both occasions they were overruled by the Swedish government. One reason for not requiring competence in Finnish — held by the County Board of Education in 1975 — was that this would restrict the number of possible applicants (*Met-aviisi* 1993:2).

In 1983 a Royal Commission proposed that when education for bilingual occupations was arranged the authorities should in particular consider students with proficiency in Sami and Tornedalen Finnish (SOU 1983:57, 257).

Language in the workplace

Figure 25 shows which language people mainly used in their work in 1966 and 1991–92, while Figure 26 shows which language they would prefer to use.

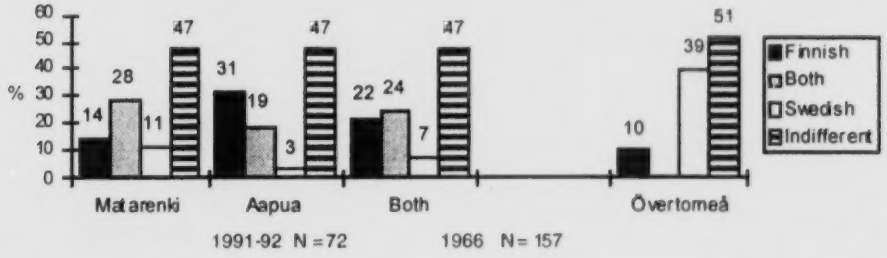
Figure 25. Which language do you mainly use in your occupation?



Swedish is used as much as in the 1960s (Jaakkola 1969:135), but the use of only Finnish has decreased and been replaced by use of both languages. The younger age

groups prefer Swedish. Without doubt Finnish is more common in the occupational field in Aapua.

Figure 26. Which language would you prefer to use in your occupation and with your fellow workers?



The number of people who want to speak only Swedish in their work is fairly low. In the 1960s, 10 per cent preferred Finnish in their job, 51 per cent claimed that it was immaterial and 39 per cent preferred Swedish (Jaakkola 1969:91). However, they were not asked if they would have preferred using both languages. By both languages in 1991–92 many meant that they wanted to mix both languages, i.e. code switch.

> "You are more free to speak when you know that the other person knows Finnish. But when I must speak only Swedish, it is very hard to remember all the words. My Swedish has become worse." (Male, 35 years, Matarenki.)

The change in numbers reflects the change in opinion. Today 22 per cent prefer to speak Finnish, despite the fact that fluent competence in general has decreased and that they could choose bilingual practice as well. Only 7 per cent wanted to speak Swedish.

Table 8: Is Finnish very important or a necessity in your occupation?

Matarenki 1991	
Yes	84%
No	16%
N=37	

In 1966, 77 per cent claimed that bilingualism was required (Jaakkola 1969:134). It is obvious that a monolingual person in Aapua in 1966 would have faced great problems in good relations with his fellow workers. This social competence was ignored in the 1966 study and the informants understood the question as asking whether Finnish was an absolute must in order to do the work.

The majority of informants in Matarenki today are of the opinion that Finnish is indispensable or a very important part of occupational skill and success (Table 8). For example, many customers are from Finland, and knowledge of Finnish is an essential advantage in competition between self employed business people.

Cooperation with other areas

The folk high school and the school for vocational training of unemployed people (AMU centre) in Matarenki have a cooperative arrangement with the education authorities in Finland and Norway to educate Finnish and Norwegian pupils in Matarenki. For that reason good active Finnish is a requirement for teachers, as well as to some extent for some other school staff who are in contact with Finns. Furthermore, knowledge of Finnish is an advantage but not a requirement for staff at the Matarenki medical centre. This centre has developed cooperation with the medical centre in Ylitornio, the municipality on the Finnish side of the border (Civildepartementet 1994:67, 70). The lesser educated nursing staff mainly have proficiency in Finnish but doctors are generally monolinguals.

The Finnish ice hockey team in Ylitornio has its home rink in Sweden. Matarenki's hockey rink is used frequently during training camps by many hockey teams from northern Finland because of its new equipment. The long distances in the northern area have resulted in Finland and Sweden having a common league where the Matarenki hockey team plays together with many northern Finnish teams, where many of the young hockey players come in contact with Finnish.

This increased cooperation with associations and services in Finland arises from the municipalities' need to cut the cost of social welfare and services. The economy of the municipalities along both sides of Finnish border has been in a recession and to maintain similar and expensive service institutions on both sides of the Finnish border is a drain on public resources. Thus knowledge of Finnish has to some extent become a necessity and a part of some occupational skills. Many employees, however, stress that Finnish is not an explicit requirement for their particular employment, but a deciding factor between applicants equally qualified for the same position.

Sweden and Finland became members of the European Union on 1 January 1995. This membership will have an influence on attitudes. The EU promotes the integration of border regions. In the long run economic reasons will probably force the politicians in the municipalities along the Finnish border to be more efficient in their use of public funds. At present the public infrastructure of the municipalities is mainly organized on a national basis and thus only a small amount of cooperation exists across the border. Hence we have expensive health care centres in Övertorneå and Ylitornio, municipalities with about 6000 inhabitants each. If these kinds of public institutions are combined it will decrease the need to raise taxes to maintain the welfare system. It will also result in the need for bilingualism in Finland as well as in Sweden, and bilingualism will be an occupational as well as social advantage in the border municipalities. Swedish will extend to the border municipalities of Finland and Finnish could for the first time become an official language of public institutions in Sweden.

However, according to one investigation one hindrance to increased cross-border cooperation is negative linguistic, social and cultural attitudes (Civildepartementet 1994:67, 80, 82).

Summary

Bilingual Tornedalians generally maintain a distinction between "first", "best" and "most fluent" language. Their best language is more analytical, broader in vocabulary, is more context free and therefore used more in public, i.e. Swedish. On the other hand, Tornedalen Finnish is more context bound, emotional and spontaneous, and used more in private fields. Many claim, for example, that it is easier to be angry in Tornedalen Finnish. Very few Tornedalians claim that they can speak Tornedalen Finnish in every domain. Swedish is the only language used in public, apart from some Tornedalen Finnish broadcasts on the local radio. Some people argued that they preferred to be with bilinguals who could code switch rapidly and borrow simultaneously. They argued that speaking one language at each time was laborious for them. The easygoing way of speaking can be a explained as an avoidance of self-awareness. When speakers must have full control of the speech form they are less relaxed and less spontaneous participants in discussions. This may be the reason why it is maintained that the working class is more spontaneous and less self monitoring compared with the middle class. Thus simultaneous borrowing and code switching are the most efficient way to use two languages, and the most relaxed form among peers. This may explain why bilinguals tend to devalue unmixed modes.

Bilinguals in informal settings are unaware of which language they use at any moment and how much they mix. This is an indication that speakers focus attention on content and neglect form; whereas well monitored speech requires attention to form and thus the observing mind must be divided.

We can argue that in the spontaneous mode one uses a different form of conceptual network, due to its demand for context bound reasoning and avoidance of self-awareness. The formal mode, on the other hand, requires a conceptual network which separates the speaker as a subject from the content of the speech.

Where two languages are in contact there is a division in linguistic status. Linguistic status corresponds to social stratification and the socio-economic conditions of the language group, and therefore two languages cannot be equally valued (Nelde et al. 1996). Linguistic status can be defined as the value of a language for social mobility. Thus language shifts are associated with social class differences. This may be the reason why working class varieties seldom have high prestige in public. Therefore loans from the low prestige language to the high status language are probably rare in any society. The last Standard Finnish terms were borrowed from Finland in the 1920s and 1930s. Since then all new technical terms have been borrowed from Swedish, though the new attitudes have resulted in a small but increasing number of Standard Finnish words being used in informal settings. However, prestige does not explain the great number of apparently unnecessary loans. Metalinguistic awareness and the context bound form of linguistic behaviour do explain the unnecessary loans which are frequent in a bilingual setting.

The general language shift follows a fairly categorized order where frequency of use is an important predictor. Pronouns and functional words are the last domain to be lost from the spoken minority language. Terms for parts of the body resist language shift, as well as common terms for nature. All frequent and common verbs are also resistant. Low frequency words are under pressure from the dominant language due to the low

metalinguistic awareness in the oral language and developed literacy in the dominant language. Placenames and terms for flora and fauna also resist language shift, and to some extent these categorizes are transferred to the superior language.

The language shift in the Torne Valley was initiated by changes in socio-economic conditions in the 1950s, when it was also common to change to Swedish surnames in order to be more competitive in the labour market. The process of language shift occurred earlier in larger villages and middle class families. Females were more eager to acquire and retain Swedish, because it was believed they felt that it had higher status and that they were more attractive if they spoke Swedish. The first generation of Swedish-speakers switched to Finnish under the pressure of the Finnish-speaking groups, which were still dominant. Boys had some forms of covert prestige in Finnish. It is possible to argue that the covert and overt prestige features reflect different value systems in the society, and that the status of language reflects the social order and hierarchy.

Monolinguals and former residents who returned to their villages from Swedish-speaking areas often demand pure Swedish in their presence, and this hastens the language shift. Teenagers in Övertorneå are often unaware that the area was predominantly Finnish-speaking only one or two decades earlier.

The revival movement led by the Swedish Tornedalians' Association has slightly altered the language shift. Middle class people tend to be overrepresented among those who transmit (Tornedalen) Finnish to their children. It may be more common that mothers insist on the advantage of being bilingual.

In Matarenki Swedish is the dominant language in public. People older than 30 speak almost as much Finnish in public as in the 1960s. Attitudes have changed. A common opinion is that Finnish is more popular to use now even where it was completely banned, such as teachers' staffrooms. In Aapua Finnish is still used everywhere, although Swedish dominates among teenagers and children.

The use of Finnish at work has decreased in Matarenki and been replaced with the use of both languages. Even so 84 per cent in Matarenki claim that Finnish is important in their job, but not a must. Finnish is still needed in the workplace in Aapua.

Swedish for the older generations was acquired in school. People born before 1945 often had no competence in Swedish when they started school. Tornedalen Finnish was formerly always learnt at home. Nowadays in Matarenki children often acquire Finnish at the playground when playing with Finnish immigrant children, from grandparents, in farming and forestry, fishing and hunting, or through accidental contacts. Very few have learned Finnish as a deliberate choice. However, Finnish is still common and teenagers often have some form of receptive competence.

In preschools and primary schools in general the attitude towards Finnish is more positive than in the 1960s.

The use of Finnish as a religious language is rapidly declining. Swedish is almost the only language used in church services in Övertorneå. In Aapua prayer meetings are no longer held, because no religious people can read in Finnish. Even the legislative requirement for Finnish competence for priests has been weakened.

Earlier it was a legal requirement that a number of public appointments demanded competence in Finnish. Since 1987 this has been abolished. However, in practice competence in Finnish was often a burden.

Matarenki is in the process of developing cooperation with the Finnish municipality of Ylitornio in some public fields. Bilingualism is required in some positions, but basically Finnish competence is not a must. We can, however, expect that cross-border contacts will increase and public sector resources will be used more efficiently if public infrastructure is in accordance with geographic principles rather than national borders. This development has progressed since Sweden and Finland became members of the EU in 1995.

Notes

[1] I do not differentiate between code-switching and interference. For instance code-switching is used as a term for conscious choice of expression, whereas interference is subconscious. In this study the term code-switching refers to both deliberate and spontaneous use. The word interference has also a pejorative implication of right and wrong forms of behaviour and should thus be rejected as a linguistic term (cf. Grosjean 1982:299).

[2] Even today a Finnish surname may be a disadvantage when seeking a job. This is a common problem for immigrants. An immigrant described his change of name by saying that the new name serves the same function as an umbrella when its rains — it protects him.

CHAPTER 6

LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

The four language skills

Language competence can be divided into four skills: listening, reading, speaking, and writing. The easiest and most receptive skill is listening. This does not require the same level of metalinguistic awareness and explicit understanding that the other skills do. Spoken Tornedalen Finnish is understood by teenagers, for example, although they face considerable problems in speaking it. They can mostly understand the subject of everyday communication, though they prefer to respond in Swedish.

The other receptive skill is reading, which requires more formal knowledge of the language than listening. However, many Tornedalians have weak metalinguistic awareness, the prerequisite for literacy.

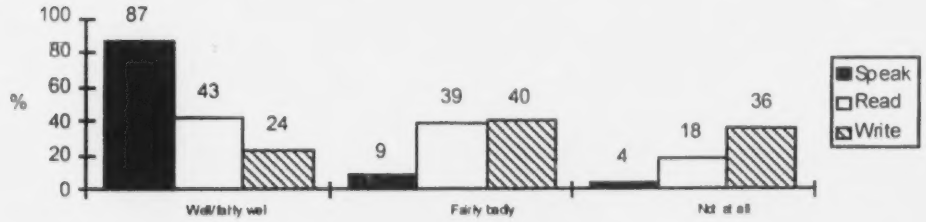
Speaking requires a command of the grammatical rules of the language as well as adequate vocabulary; though in Tornedalen Finnish code switching between Finnish and Swedish is common.

Writing is the most demanding task. It requires a high degree of metalinguistic awareness and explicit understanding of content, grammar and linguistic rules.

Everybody, after a long period in school, can read and write in Swedish. But even in Swedish a lack of spontaneous command of writing is evident. Many feel that writing letters is difficult and laborious, for example, and that they have nothing particular to write about, although in casual chatter they have endless stories. Text is probably the strongest domain of formal language where a high degree of attention to form is required. Manual workers in general have weak awareness of formal speech and attention to form. This causes fear, anxiety and withdrawal when faced with having to write. For this group written language is associated with something above the level of common reason and ordinary thoughts.

Self rated linguistic competence

Figure 27. Proficiency in speaking, reading and w riting Standard Finnish 1966



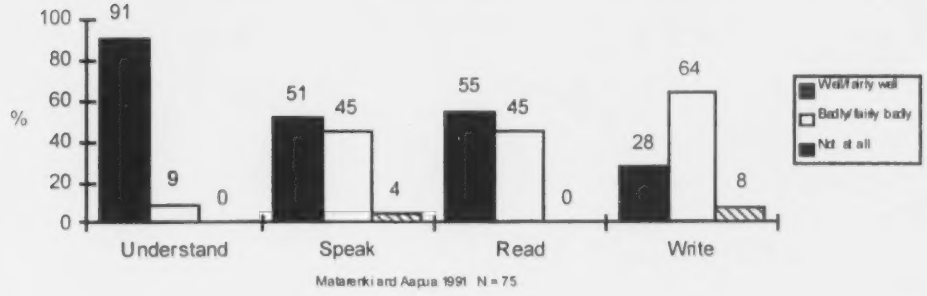
N = 345

Self rating of literacy skills indicates that a high percentage of informants were functionally illiterate in Finnish during the 1960s. Literacy in Tornedalen Finnish was never valued because many felt that it was not a language.

Figure 27 shows Tornedalians' proficiency in speaking, reading and writing Standard Finnish in 1966. The answers in this study are confusing and problematic to interpret. Some informants understood the question of competence in Finnish as relating to their Standard Finnish proficiency, while others understood it as relating to their proficiency in Tornedalen Finnish. To avoid such confusion in the present survey we asked explicitly about competence in Standard Finnish and in Tornedalen Finnish. The majority were fully aware of the difference between Standard Finnish and Tornedalen Finnish, though they had problems in distinguishing between non-standard varieties spoken in Finland and Standard Finnish; they considered them all Standard varieties.

Self reporting on language proficiency is a subjective evaluation. Self assessment of competence depends on the individuals' point of reference, whether they see it from a mother tongue perspective or from a foreign language ability perspective. Younger people who mainly have only receptive proficiency in Finnish often compare it with their proficiency in other foreign languages, such as English or French, while older people compare their knowledge with possible or ideal mother tongue fluency. Figure 28 shows speakers' self evaluation of their proficiency in Standard Finnish in 1991, while Figure 29 shows their self evaluation of their proficiency in Tornedalen Finnish.

Figure 28. Proficiency in Standard Finnish



Radio Norrbotten has conducted surveys, using telephone interviews, of language proficiency in Norrbotten. About 80 per cent of the informants in Pajala could speak Finnish more or less, and — surprisingly — 28 per cent of the population in Luleå, the county town of Norrbotten, could speak Finnish more or less (Gröndahl 1991:table 1).

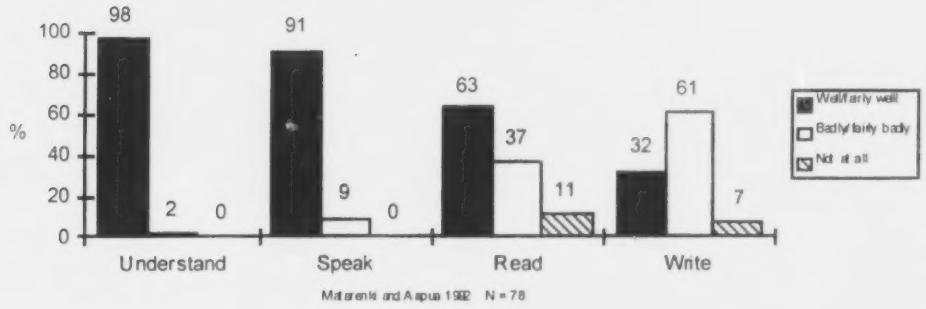
Furthermore, about 80 per cent in Pajala municipality maintained that they understood Standard Finnish radio broadcasts very well or well, and consequently a higher percentage (95 per cent) claimed to understand radio broadcasts in Tornedalen Finnish

very well or well (Gröndahl 1991:tables 6 and 7). The proportion of people who understood Finnish well or very well was comparable with 1979, when Radio Norrbotten did an earlier survey. The numbers are probably comparable with this study. But the percentage of those who did not know Finnish was only 4 per cent in 1966, while 20 per cent in Pajala and 21 per cent in Haparanda claimed to have no competence in Finnish (Gröndahl 1991:table 1). However, the numbers seem to be slightly exaggerated, and should be compared with the percentage of pupils in primary school who have some knowledge of Finnish. In 1985–86 this was 86 per cent of the pupils in Pajala municipality, 74 per cent in Övertorneå, and 43 per cent in Haparanda (Slunga 1986a:table 1).

About 10 per cent of informants in 1991–92 maintained that they knew a lot of people who had a complete lack of competence in Finnish. About 65 per cent in Matarenki and 31 per cent in Aapua knew some people who had no Finnish competence, whereas 24 per cent and 61 per cent respectively said that they did not know anyone.

In Aapua there is obviously a common understanding that almost everyone has at least passive proficiency in Finnish.

Figure 29. Proficiency in Tornedalen Finnish



The level of literacy in the 1990s is nearly the same as in 1966, when 24 per cent claimed that they could write Finnish well or fairly well. Today 28 per cent claim that they can write Standard Finnish well or fairly well. The small difference probably reflects the fact that the 1991–92 investigation excluded people who have no proficiency at all in Finnish, and also reflects changed attitudes. Another reason is the opportunity to study Finnish as a home language in primary school now. Some were unable to answer the question of how well they could read or write in Finnish because they had never tried or did not have any reference to judge by. The majority of those who could write Standard Finnish well or fairly well were born in Finland, had one or both parents from Finland, or had studied Finnish at school.

Competence in reading Finnish, however, is somewhat better than in the 1960s. Today about 55 per cent claim that they can read Standard Finnish well or fairly well, compared with 43 per cent in 1966.

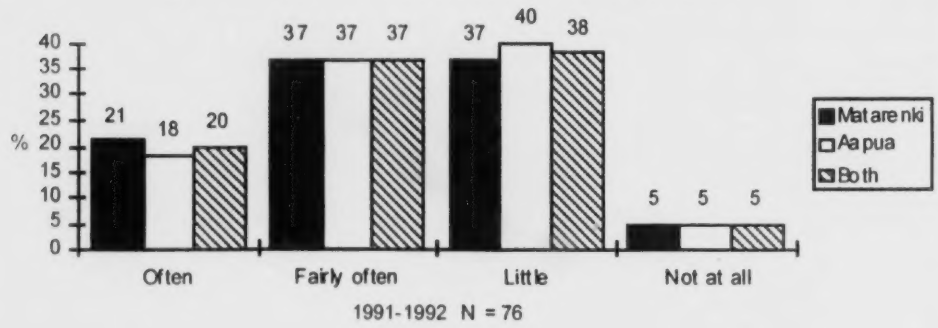
Until the last decade this low level of proficiency in reading and writing Finnish has been one of the main reasons for an impoverishment in cultural activity, and to some extent for collective low self confidence in life outside the group. Indeed, one of the most important factors in the ongoing process of language shift has been that Tornedalians have not been able to study Finnish in schools.

Clearly competence in all forms of language skills is better in Tornedalen Finnish than Standard Finnish. Today 63 per cent can read Tornedalen Finnish well or fairly well, compared with 43 per cent in 1966 (see Figure 27), although mother tongue competence in general has decreased since the 1960s. Many more have fairly good reading proficiency in Tornedalen Finnish, due to the changed attitudes which have influenced linguistic behaviour. Proficiency in writing Tornedalen Finnish (32 per cent) is roughly comparable with writing Standard Finnish in 1966 (24 per cent).

Reading proficiency

Finnish television subtitles

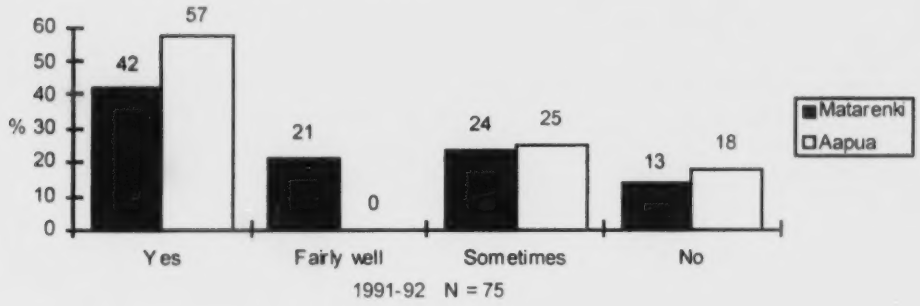
Figure 30. How often do you watch Finnish television?



Source: 1991–92 survey.

Radio Norrbotten's survey found that 51 per cent of the population who understand Finnish in Norrbotten claimed to watch Finnish TV channels often (Gröndahl 1991:26). Figure 30 shows that a similar proportion of people, about 57 per cent of informants in the 1991–92 survey, watched Finnish television often or fairly often, while Figure 31 shows their ability to read Finnish subtitles.

Figure 31. Can you read subtitles on Finnish television?



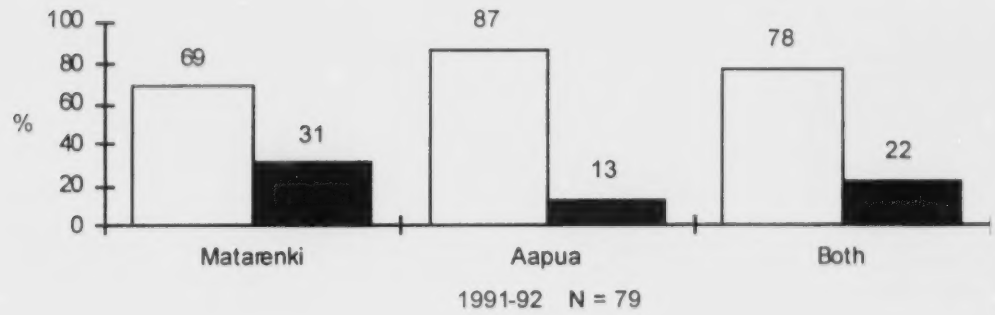
About 60 per cent claimed that they were able to read the Finnish subtitles of programs in languages other than Finnish well or fairly well. About 40 per cent said they had too little time to read the subtitles before they disappeared: "Sometimes I succeed, or mostly only the first line; it goes too quickly", was a common response. Surprisingly many claimed they succeed in reading the whole subtitle.

Finnish literature

Self estimation of proficiency in reading varies. Some can scarcely read at all, or with difficulty and very slowly, while others read slowly but well. Still both groups can be of the opinion that they cannot read at all or only sometimes.

Figure 32 shows the percentage of people who have read material in Tornedalen Finnish.

Figure 32. Have you read any newspapers, magazines or books written in Tornedalen Finnish?



The revival movement has led to heightened competence in reading Finnish and Tornedalen Finnish.

Borrowing library books

In Finland people in general borrow more books from libraries than in Sweden. This is the case in Ylitornio, the Finnish municipality across the border from Övertorneå.

The municipalities are almost equal in population. Övertorneå municipality had 6234 inhabitants in 1992, while Ylitornio municipality had 6288 inhabitants in 1989 (SCB 1994:table 23; Suomi 1991:66). However, the number of books borrowed per inhabitant is almost twice as high in Ylitornio, i.e. 14.8 books/year per inhabitant in 1991, compared with about 7.5 in Övertorneå. Book borrowing in Övertorneå has increased since 1975 when fewer than five books were borrowed per inhabitant per year — a fairly low number compared with other small municipalities in Sweden (orally, Ylitornio library staff; Statistikjournal 1975–1991).

Books written in Finnish constitute about 10–14 per cent of the total number of books borrowed, or about 0.5–1.4 books per inhabitant per year. This reflects low competence or low interest in reading in Finnish. The numbers would be much higher if they reflected the Finnish-speaking proportion of the population. Finnish immigrants probably account for some of the number who borrow books in Finnish. In the 1960s 7 per cent of those who read books had read at least one book in Finnish (Jaakkola 1969:110).

Part of the explanation for the higher borrowing rate in Ylitornio may be the fact that the Finnish borrowings include "easy" books such as Donald Duck for children and similar books with low literary merit for adults which libraries in Sweden normally do not keep. An increase in borrowing when easy books are kept has been noted in Swedish municipalities (SCB 1987:42). But that alone would not account for the rate of borrowing being twice as high in Finland.

The average reader in Sweden as a whole borrowed 9.6 books per year from public libraries in 1983 (SCB 1987:41). The range is between 5–15 books per inhabitant depending on the municipality, but normally municipalities with fewer inhabitants also have a lower rate of borrowing. In municipalities with 8000–10 000 inhabitants the rate in 1979 was 7.8 books per inhabitant per year borrowed from the public libraries (SCB 1981:55ff.).

This means that the average reader in Övertorneå reads nearly as many books as an average Swede living in a small municipality, but only half as many as people from Finnish rural areas.

In a study in the 1960s it was noted that Tornedalians read fewer books than Finns on the Finnish side of the border (Hansegård 1968; Jaakkola 1973:115–16). This was an inadequate conclusion drawn without consideration of the cultural differences. It was based on the fact that reading was linked to competence in Swedish — monolinguals in Swedish read most books in 1966. About 81 per cent of those who had better proficiency in Finnish had not read any books in the previous year, whereas 42 per cent of those with Swedish as their best language had not read any books (Jaakkola 1969:111, 151). The comparable number on the Finnish side of the valley is 55 per cent. Although competence in Swedish is linked to level of education, interest in reading is

still repressed in a culture where the population is functionally illiterate in their mother tongue. The low literacy rate in Finnish and the prohibition on keeping books in Finnish — a regulation repealed only in 1957 — has certainly influenced the reading culture of the Torne Valley. If the inhabitants have not acquired literacy in their mother tongue there will be fewer authors and readers in both languages, because there is little tradition of literary culture to transfer to coming generations.

Style in Tornedalen Finnish

Inappropriate styles

It has been argued that a homogeneous society with only an oral language has fewer varieties of styles compared with a language with a broad range of different types of literature and with developed social stratification. This monostylism is a typical feature of an oral minority language (Mougeon and Beniak 1991:16).

Because the villages of the Torne Valley consist mainly of working class people, the need to shift styles in order to reflect the social order and different occupations is therefore not required to the same extent that it is in a more heterogeneous society. Naturally, individuals in the fairly homogeneous society are valued according to their individual capacity for work and according to their physical, cognitive and emotional qualities. But a homogeneous society speaking a minority language places less value on particular speech styles. The linguistic "role" of the average Tornedalian is limited. The expression of their many social roles is limited by their lack of literacy in Tornedalen Finnish. The lack of linguistic roles is evident when different styles are demanded in exceptional situations, e.g. in interviews where Standard Finnish or "pure" Tornedalen Finnish, with no code switching and little use of newly integrated Swedish loans, is deemed necessary. Tornedalen Finnish has not had many clearly differentiated styles, except for religious speech and adolescents' use of some slang and "tough" words. It is basically a concrete practical language with fewer euphemisms — except for the great number of taboo words — and synonyms with different associations, compared with a literary language in a society with broad social stratification. The everyday language is applied wherever it is possible to use it. When Tornedalian workers need another style they switch to Swedish, where they have greater knowledge of what is appropriate.

Different styles are required in different situations in all literary languages. One situation in which it is difficult for Tornedalen Finnish speakers to find the right style is in visiting a doctor. Their everyday style creates a lot of confusion and evokes negative attitudes among Finnish immigrants who work in the hospitals and come in contact with Finnish-speaking Tornedalians. Finns regard their own language form as normative, and thus decide which language behaviour is the correct one. For instance, a practising surgeon in Matarenki experienced how his professional skill was questioned when, in a Tornedalen Finnish style where the actual terminology was lacking, he was describing an operation before surgery. The surgeon, using his everyday speech, used words such as Tornedalen Finnish *veitti* 'knife' instead of Standard Finnish *leikkausveitsi* 'scalpel'. The patient became anxious and asked, "Are you really a surgeon?"

Finns living in Sweden often feel that Tornedalen Finnish is immature and that the vocabulary is raw. They often feel embarrassed when Tornedalians use inappropriate words, as for example when nurses from Finland visit a Torne Valley medical centre and hear Tornedalians speak in what they think is an inappropriate style. Tornedalians in general lack awareness of conventional Finnish manners in domains which are classified as taboo and in which a need for a euphemistic vocabulary is felt. For example, they use the everyday Tornedalen word *kusi* 'piss' when talking with a Finnish nurse, who reacts negatively to that word and prefers Standard Finnish *virtsa* 'urine'. Tornedalen Finnish has the word *virtta*, but it is inappropriate to use in that situation. In Finland it has a neutral association, but its meaning in Tornedalen Finnish is 'staleness; contents of a drainage well for animals'. It is one of the most offensive words in Tornedalen Finnish but Finnish Finns do not understand this different connotation, just as Tornedalians do not understand the vulgar associations of *kusi* in Standard Finnish.

This different linguistic behaviour is a consequence of the literate culture with a need for neutral words, while Tornedalen Finnish retains its original style. The diverse contexts of understanding produce prejudices towards Torne Valley inhabitants and their culture.

Another effect of speaking the minority language is that elderly people from the Torne Valley are sometimes judged as senile by the mostly monolingual doctors. This is based on a misinterpretation of defective communication between the patient and the doctor (*Met-aviisi* 1996–1). The doctor believes that Swedish Tornedalians must be able to understand Swedish, and that if they do not they perceive this as the loss of language skills associated with senility.

Tornedalen Finnish and Laestadianism

> Our Language is an insult in morning services. (A priest.)

The only domain where a "higher" style has been adopted and is required is in the religious ceremonies of Laestadians (apart from the local radio station and some Tornedalen Finnish spoken in public nowadays).

The language used for religion will often become a sacred language, a lingua sacra which conserves the form of the language, especially within minorities without any official language (Romaine 1989:33). By its associations with sacredness it tends to be resistant to language shift. In some minorities it is even more resistant than in the private family domain, e.g. in Eastern Austria (Gal 1979:102). This lingua sacra is a typical example of how an oral language can be context bound in a group which has little or no education in it, and when it is an isolated minority language. Through frequent participation in prayer meetings and lack of, or weak, literacy in the mother tongue it will be associated with the particular domain.

The Laestadian movement was started in the mid nineteenth century by the botanist and priest Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861) who lived and preached in Karesuando and Pajala. He preached all around the northern part of the Torne Valley in both Finnish and Sami[1] and wrote a number of sermons and interpretations of the Bible. These writings were collected in a book of sermons which later became the "bible" for Tornedalians, northern Finns, northern Norwegians, and Sami. Today in Laestadian

meetings during summertime, and still in private houses every Sunday in some villages, it is traditional for Tornedalians to hear sermons and readings in old Finnish.

Laestadius understood that speaking and writing the local language was the way to link the religious message with the emotional life of the Tornedalians. Swedish could never be the emotional and associative language. The local state priests, on the other hand, generally had little awareness of the importance of speaking Finnish, and did not understand that languages can be mastered on many levels. They argued thus that Finnish could be abandoned in all school instruction and in religion (SOU 1921).

Laestadius did not differ in religious practice from the rest of society, which he saw as all part of one total existence. His spirituality awakened a religious and social movement which spread from Pajala and Karesuando to northern Finland, northern Norway, and to America with emigrants. Regardless of the fact that it has been despised by the dominant society and scholars who have studied it, Laestadianism is still an active spiritual movement in parts of the USA, Sweden, Norway and especially in Finland. Recently interest in Laestadianism has grown (Groth 1984:201ff.). Meetings are held in Finland, Norway and Sweden, visited by thousands of people from all three countries. The preachers' sermons are always interpreted into either Finnish or Swedish.

The Laestadian community helped to preserve old Finnish. The translations from the nineteenth century were the main source of maintaining contact with Standard Finnish. Through the years the religious language became archaic from the Standard Finnish perspective. A new translation of the Bible was made in Finland, but the Laestadians kept their basic Bible and Laestadius's commentary as main sources for sermons. Therefore a second level of language developed, a literary religious language that influenced the spoken variety. But over time the religious language became increasingly differentiated from the religious Finnish used in Finland and especially from Standard Finnish.

A strong characteristic of the Laestadian movement is the conservative attitude to any kind of renewal of the religion or the language. Many members have not accepted the new translations of either the Swedish books of hymns or the new translations of the Bible that have been produced in Finland. They have kept their tradition alive through Laestadius's commentary and the old translations. In the opinion of many Laestadians the new language is not from God, but from the unknowing people. God's words are holy and complete, and simple minded humans should not give them a new shape because they will lose their real meaning. The sacred language must preserve its original form. Those of the older generations who can read Laestadius's commentary receive new associations from the new translation and for that reason often do not really understand the text. Although they "objectively" understand it, it will nevertheless not be the spontaneous comprehension that awakens the familiar emotions they have received from listening to and reading and re-reading the old Bible. This is one important factor in explaining their resistance to every change in the linguistic form. A translation produces a new, context reduced, meaning.

People in Finland have learned and internalized to the habitual level the new language from television, school, books and from other varieties they been confronted with. The language changes slowly from generation to generation, but the Laestadian

movement has kept their original language nearly intact, with no wider influence from Standard Finnish.

However, the resistance to new translations is not tied to particular religions or religious people. Even among non-practising religious people and atheists the new translations of the Swedish Bible and the books of hymns which have appeared in the last decade have caused much discussion. Everyone in the Christian world is familiar with sayings, proverbs, phrases and ideas from the Bible. Everyone can recite parts of the hymns they learned during childhood. Among these people there has been resistance to and low acceptance of new versions of the texts, which lose their spontaneous associations, the pathway to individual emotions.

Associations are the basic instrument for reaching emotions from childhood, for reawakening forgotten memories and feelings and experiencing the individual history in its eternity. When a new translation of the Bible is used, the older translation vanishes from sermons and prayer meetings, and the familiar feelings of pleasure associated with it are lost. With the loss of associations people feel they lose part of their history which they must then search for in the old books that others do not use. No-one wants to sacrifice this link to their childhood. The conservative attitude that resists change is therefore a logical reaction at this level.

The religious language tends in general to be a holy vernacular which religious people want to proclaim as the original divine form of the ideas of God. However, they are often not aware of the fact that it is just their immediate associations of pleasure which are holy. The text in itself has no intrinsic holiness. But with a new form, the tone and style change with the new translation of the words and syntax, and this change is felt as the loss of the feelings associated with the language of the older text.

Linguistic development has passed the Laestadians by. Even if they were willing to renew Laestadian ideas they have lost their contact with the everyday language. The only way for them to survive is to accept Swedish as the new vernacular of the community. This is an ongoing and rapid process.

In the western part of northern Norrbotten the language shift has gone much further than along the Finnish border. Many of the people do not understand the "proper" but old Finnish in the books of sermons. The preachers have accepted having both languages represented in the Gällivare municipality. Swedish is growing in dominance in the eastern region as well. In Matarenki the local priest speaks Tornedalen Finnish and Swedish fluently but the people want to hear sermons in Swedish. Many of them lack the immediate associations evoked by Finnish. Or perhaps a minority do have the "religious" understanding, but want to be members of the majority who prefer Swedish as a marker that they are Swedes and demand religious activities which are conducted almost entirely in Swedish. Finnish is used for only a couple of morning services every year which do not draw a big crowd of believers. Aapua once had prayer meetings in homes, as almost every village did, every Sunday. A local preacher read from Laestadius's commentary, and together they sang old hymns in Finnish and Swedish. In recent years they have had problems finding any religious people who were able to read, and for that reason one old lady read until 1992 when she retired. Now the Sunday meetings have come to an end. There is a lack of interest and a lack of people who can read and maintain the traditions. Illiteracy thus secularizes the society.

In some villages in Pajala, Övertorneå and parts of Haparanda municipalities, Finnish still dominates in prayer meetings held in houses. However, many villages have ended the purely Finnish meetings and started to have sermons in both languages. This will probably last for a transitional period and will end with monolingual Swedish meetings or a total end of Laestadian meetings. The same rapid development is ongoing in every village in the Torne Valley. Within a decade or two there are now hardly any Sunday prayer meetings conducted in Finnish by local preachers in the central and southern parts of the Torne Valley.

One obvious reason for the loss of Finnish is that younger people have lost their spontaneous contact with the Finnish Bible. The other reason is that fewer people are really active in practising their religion. This development, however, is only a general feature of a more secularized society.

One important reason for the lack of interest is the conservative attitude among Laestadians towards renewing the lingua sacra and letting it be influenced by current Tornedalen Finnish. The former priest and author Bengt Pohjanen has worked hard to change attitudes among Laestadians towards Tornedalen Finnish. Among other books he has translated the gospels of St Mark and St John into Tornedalen Finnish, using more poetic titles such as *Tule Leevi fölhjyyn: Juhaneksen evanjeeliyymi* 'Join my community, Leevi: The Gospel of St John' (Pohjanen 1988, 1994). The first print run of 1000 copies of St Mark sold out in a few weeks. Pohjanen argues that every cultural and literary language has the translation of the Bible as its main task; that this is the sign of a cultural and literary language. He feels that it is his responsibility to do this, and has started the huge work of translating, or perhaps interpreting, the New Testament into Tornedalen Finnish. The project will last at least until the year 2000.

The translations of St Mark and St John are close to a Tornedalen Finnish which does not mix Swedish and Finnish extensively. Pohjanen's interpretation is closer to the original text compared with many standard varieties, because the original text was also close to the spoken language at the time it was written. In this respect all translations include an embedded falsehood where the text tends to be sacral and conservative. It is felt that an oral language would not give the right image of the original text of the Bible, and that a marked everyday language would have wrong associations.

The translation of St Mark has been well accepted among many young and middle aged people and those who are not actively religious. This has been partly because of the attraction of an "exotic" translation of the Bible in Tornedalen Finnish. But the Laestadians are often negative towards Pohjanen's interpretations. According to a folk tale, God does not understand Tornedalen Finnish because it is an oral language; others maintain that Pohjanen is playing dangerous games with God, that he is making God look foolish and disgracing the divine order. Some priests argue that the Bible should be printed in the old or the new Standard Finnish, but be read in the local variety, which they do not accept as a literary language.

This conservative reaction is a common attitude towards new Bible translations in other languages. In this case the resistance is stronger because the new translation is written in a language that has not been used as a literary language.

Attitudes to language competence and bilingualism

Living in two languages

About 70 per cent of the informants in the survey claimed that they are bilinguals, but about 17 per cent believe that they are mixed, mono-, semi- or one and a half linguals. Some of their comments include:

> "I am mixed lingual." (Female, 37 years, Matarenki.)

> "It becomes more Our Language, half Finnish and half Swedish: that's Our Language." (Female, 18 years, Matarenki.)

> "They wonder where he might come from; doesn't speak either Finnish or Swedish." (Male, 55 years, Matarenki.)

With these kinds of answers informants meant that Finnish and Swedish are mingled into one language, but many cannot accept this as a language. Two defined themselves as semilinguals:

> "I know half of both, in both I'm deficient: (Female, 65 years, Aapua.)

Fairly often older people defined themselves and especially others as being semilinguals. In the Torne Valley the term "semilingualism" is still an actively used word among older generations for people to judge themselves and others as limited in thinking and psychological activity.

> "Here we mingle the languages, and many are semilinguals. I myself am at the most one and a half lingual." (Male, 40 years, Aapua.)

Among adolescents the term is often unknown or not identified as applying to their group.

The meaning of the term "semilingual"[2], however, is neither precise nor obvious. One of the meanings among "semilinguals" is that they believe they are without any single proper language to communicate with others. They are semilinguals outside the context where Tornedalen Finnish is used, and "full linguals" within the community where there is no requirement to separate the languages. Their speech is a functional tool within the group they are members of, as long as no external judgements are made of their linguistic behaviour. These value judgements are made by the majority in Sweden and Finland who have a certain idea of what Swedish and Finnish should be, and no new language is accepted if it is a mixture of two existing ones. Very few Tornedalians — if any — argue that their linguistic competence is inferior within the community.

Obviously this awareness of attitudes leads Tornedalians to the conclusion that they do not want their own children to learn this language form; this is probably a common feature among minorities with negative valuations of their own culture (Trudgill 1983:135). A similar tendency to judge themselves as semilinguals is noticed among some monolingual Sweden Finns. These attitudes are mainly caused by the deviation of the spoken varieties from Standard Finnish (Lainio 1993:20).

Three people felt that they were "one or two and a half lingual", with English as a second language. Those who felt they were tri- or quadrilingual were mainly young pupils who had studied Swedish, Finnish, English and German in school.

The ethnic and cultural movement, however, has changed public attitudes. A fairly common feature in the interviews was the informants' sense of a tacit demand to define their competence as bilingual: "I'm not semilingual"[3] was a fairly common answer. But when the tape recorder was switched off some changed their attitudes and claimed that they were not really bilingual, more semilingual, mixed lingual or something similar.

Nowadays there is an official positive attitude which supports Tornedalen Finnish, and every informant is well aware of this. Today a tendency to exaggerate — or perhaps value differently — one's own knowledge of Finnish is common, as a reflection of the increasing awareness of Finnish as a marker of identity. Younger people particularly are often proud of their Finnish, although they do not always speak it, having only a receptive knowledge of the language.

A common and obvious feature in the whole area until recent years was the feeling of shame associated with the mother tongue. Denial of competence in Finnish, especially among girls, was and to some extent still is fairly common. Many Tornedalians have told how many girls in secondary school pretended that they could not speak or understand Finnish (cf. Hansegård 1968:94).

> "The girls were nearly completely monolinguals, that was what we thought. They were considered very nice. It was more important to learn Swedish." (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Ten to twenty years later the same people can speak Finnish now that the prestige of Tornedalen Finnish has risen.

On the other hand informants may try to respond as they imagine that the majority judges them. But habitual private attitudes can very well be in opposition to public attitudes. Linguistic behaviour which includes difficulties in speaking only one language fluently at any given moment creates confusing ideas in speakers about their language proficiency.

Semilinguals or bilinguals?

> "I get on here with this language. I haven't thought how well." (Male, middle aged, Matarenki.)

A common answer given by Tornedalian parents to the question of why they do not speak Finnish with their children is that they believe, based on advice from external (even official) sources, that acquiring two languages has negative effects on a child's emotional and intellectual development. These are ideas that were conventional wisdom in the Sweden of the 1960s, even among linguists. It was noticed that bilingual pupils received poorer marks in school, were underrepresented in universities, and scored lower on cognitive tests (e.g. Rönmark and Wikström 1980). As a consequence, the average bilingual Tornedalian felt that he was less intelligent, less qualified for further education or for being a successful entrepreneur, than his monolingual counterparts. Even the County Board of Education noted in the 1970s that the term "semilingualism" was

associated in the public mind with Norrbotten and had a strong impact on attitudes and behaviour (Junes 1977). At that time certain linguists claimed that Tornedalians constituted a typical example of semilingualism. This view influenced the attitudes of many parents as to what language should be used in communication with their children. The choice seemed effectively to be: should they learn two half-languages or one whole?

These attitudes resulted in part from the academic debate begun in the late 1950s by the then professor of Finnish, Nils-Erik Hansegård. Hansegård maintained, with no methodological or empirical support, that many Tornedalians were semilinguals, a term which he claimed to have coined (Hansegård 1968).

He maintained that Tornedalians had a small active vocabulary in both Finnish and Swedish, spoke with many grammatical errors, and used deviant intonation patterns (deviant from the standard language, that is). Furthermore he claimed that they were lacking in ability to coin new words, exhibited little spontaneity in their speech, and were somewhat lacking in what he called "emotional involvement". That is, he felt that the quality which in normal speakers produces spontaneous individual meaning was replaced among Tornedalen speakers with a mechanical voice and comprehension on a monitored and decontextualized level. Hansegård defines emotional involvement as the language of the heart. Thus a semilingual can be defined as a person with "half hearted" language competence (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:263). Semilingualism is the condition of not being able to fully express one's emotions or of not being fully affected by a given language. The points of reference and the normative values underlying the concept of full lingualism, in Hansegård's terms and in the overall debate, arise from the monolingual point of view — how a monolingual functions with a single language, in contrast to the way in which a bilingual is supposed to function with two languages. Although many Tornedalians themselves would claim that while Tornedalen Finnish is their emotional language and Swedish their rational one, they would not agree that their Tornedalen Finnish is half hearted.

Tornedalians, like Sami, were alleged to experience an "inner silence" caused by their lack of an emotional language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:264). They could speak quite fluently; but the experiences and emotions behind their stream of words seemed to be superficial and shallow, Hansegård concluded (Hansegård 1989). These arguments can be applied analogously in the world of intellectuals, or wherever people come in contact. Many well educated people seem to lack the most basic knowledge of a "whole hearted" language and experience more of a complete lack of "heart" in their formal speech, which they cannot avoid using in any circumstance. There are many well educated people — as well as others — who seem to have an inner silence, unable to express emotions. A typical attitude among farmers about intellectuals is that they are distanced and controlled. It may be that there are more "half hearted" or "non hearted" people in universities than in the Torne Valley, at least according to these attitudes.

Even Hansegård was well aware of the fact that people in Sweden, and Western society generally, are educated and brought up to become linguistically insensitive. The schooling system promotes a particular kind of reasoning: "It is mainly the function of language as a tool for rational reasoning that is developed in our schools and at our universities. Initial dominance of intellectuality over emotion can be traced even in

early primary school. Thought wins successively over emotion. This increases with the degree of studies or research ... Neither impulsiveness nor spontaneity is promoted by years of studies" (Hansegård 1990:71–2; cf. Grillo 1989:203). Thus Hansegård sees impulsiveness and spontaneity as important but neglected intellectual tools. However, along with others who support this idea, he does not explain the basis for this assumption.

Hansegård did not discuss the fact that many Tornedalians when speaking Swedish with a monolingual feel that they speak too directly on some subjects and do not use the right synonyms in their accustomed setting. Often Tornedalians claim that they use Swedish words which have emotional connotations such as "power" in a wrong way. This could be explained as a lack proficiency in the nuances of the language, but perhaps a better explanation is an apparent cultural difference. It is sometimes claimed that Finns in Finland are more direct and to the point than Swedes.

From a Standard Finnish and Swedish standpoint Hansegård argues that Tornedalians lack correct grammar, where deviations from the Standard norm are regarded as impoverished speech. Moreover, Hansegård maintained that Tornedalians had a low capacity for creating new vocabulary, and that this was a marker of semilingualism. This alleged lack of innovation in vocabulary is contrary to the viewpoint of many Tornedalians who argue that their lack of vocabulary in Standard Finnish produces a lot of new words, incomprehensible in other communities but shared in the small community of the village. Furthermore, when they lack words in Finnish, code switching and borrowing from Swedish are frequent. Indeed, Hansegård did not discuss the fact that production of new words depends on the practical needs of the villagers and not on satisfying assumptions based on full lingualism. The fact that Swedish is used almost everywhere in public life means that there is no need to produce intellectual words in Tornedalen Finnish. Finnish is mainly used in the practical field, in concrete action and strict context tied thinking and acting. In these domains Tornedalen Finnish possesses an active old vocabulary that is enough for the needs of the villagers. Their intellectual needs are met by Swedish. Hansegård demands full bilingualism in all domains, not from the practical perspective of the villagers but from an ideal theoretical and academic standpoint. The same conclusion and ideological perspective were held by Jaakkola (1973).

However, Loman followed up with empirical field work and found no evidence for the concept of semilingualism (Loman 1974). The same result emerged for Rönmark and Wikström, although they noticed differences in school success between the social groups (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:62). Mainly monolingual pupils were more successful in school, but middle and "upper class" children were more numerous in that group. Bilingual minority families were mostly workers, and bilinguals had lower school marks compared with monolinguals (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:45). The correspondence between social class status and school success is well known (Romaine 1989:102ff.).

The term "semilingual" is an example of a preconceived understanding where the social consequences of a spoken language are confused with the speaker's ability to comprehend and reason. Tornedalians have only an impoverished language when they try to adapt their speech to the normative models prescribed by the majority society,

the middle class, and especially by academics. Tornedalians' formal competence is meagre. This, however, is typical of the working class in general.

"Semilingual" versus "full lingual"

The debate on alleged semilingualism in the 1960s focused attention on the linguistic situation of the Torne Valley and increased the speed of the ongoing language shift from a bilingual to a monolingual culture. A fairly common idea is that a bilingual environment inhibits language acquisition.

> "[The neighbours' boys] are so slow to learn when they hear [Finnish and Swedish] . . . The father speaks Swedish and their mother speaks Finnish, they have very mingled language, that it is . . . The neighbours' boy had great problems learning, he mingled everything, he did have not a clear and distinct language. You must learn one of the languages first, i.e. those who live at this border here." (Male 45 years, Matarenki.)

As always when talking about an abstract non-empirical term there must be an opposite concept that defines the other one, or better: they define each other. The opposite to semilingualism is the idea of full competence in the mother tongue, the ability to express personal feelings, thoughts, experiences and ideas completely. The underlying assumption is that all monolinguals who have finished at least primary school have full competence in the mother tongue, apart from lack of special terminology. The everyday language is often claimed by many academics to be fully mastered.

Hansegård claimed that non-native Swedish competence is like an actor who plays a role on the stage: the proficiency of the Tornedalian in Swedish is just an ability to imitate Swedish, without the words reaching the individual emotions. However, the Tornedalians could not play at the same "spontaneous" level. They had to protect themselves with silence, withdrawal and frustrations.

At the conceptual level the same non-native comprehension appeared. Words were not completely understood, like children who are speaking of something abstract without having experienced the associations of the concept. Tornedalians thus could not reach the same level of understanding as monolinguals have.

What Hansegård meant with his term "semilingual competence" is that competence in Swedish is not internalized into the particular culture, that it is a self monitored and context reduced competence which cannot be the foundation of spontaneous understanding, and cannot instantly be transformed into action.

The formal mode of speaking is expected in behaviour in public, apparent in the difference in styles in making a speech and talking. Making a speech in public, e.g. giving a lecture, often sounds mechanical and unnatural, especially if the speaker is reading from a manuscript. This is a common problem, but the educated members of the society also have a private complete language that they use at home and among friends. The Tornedalians did not have either complete style, Hansegård argued.

However, a demand for full competence in even one language is completely impossible and is more an ideal for a superman, an old non-accessible Nietszchean concept. Every person has a wide range of receptive knowledge even in the most basic but abstract vocabulary in their mother tongue without being semilingual. This is the basic problem for any author who tries to write and give form to shapeless substance which

is not fully conscious but intuitively understood. If the author could precisely explain every emotional state of mind he would certainly be a supernatural being.

Anyone can read and enjoy masterpieces in imaginative literature. It is possible to acquire an intuitive understanding of literary works without having the ability to understand at the conscious level what it is that produces that full enjoyment, pleasure, satisfaction, curiosity, etc. What form of knowledge was transmitted and produced pleasure? It is comparable with an illiterate person who fully comprehends an oral "whole hearted" performance. Conscious knowledge requires attention to particular features or objects that are put into a certain context and produce new insights and theories which can be applied in reality and transformed into action. But the particular features which give rise to the pleasure from narratives — written in everyday language — can seldom be realized consciously and placed into a new context: the details are trivial and seemingly without any deeper meaning. It is the wholeness of the artistic work that produces the pleasure. To understand the wholeness requires comprehension of the parts and vice versa, as the hermeneutic rule demands. But the whole is always more than the sum of its parts.

The reader can have full objective comprehension of every word and be able to repeat the content in his own words, but seldom possesses the mastery to create a text which evokes comparable emotionality in another reader. August Strindberg describes an author as a person who hangs his heart up on a meat hook in a shop window. Authors certainly have a more complete active competence in their mother tongue than the average person has. From this perspective Strindberg would probably have argued that the majority of Swedes were semilinguals. But not even Strindberg had full and absolute competence. A person with complete mastery of a "whole hearted" language would be without any subconsciousness. Active mastery will always involve degrees of conscious reflection. The subconsciousness by definition is not directly accessible, but with effort it can be reduced to a minimum level through conscious reflection. The receptive comprehension of language goes far beyond active competence and is a source of pleasure at the same time as it is a lack of self knowledge. Thus we should differentiate between the planned skill of language usage and active spontaneous and emotional usage. In reading and listening we should differentiate between self monitored, conscious linguistic comprehension and spontaneous and thus subconscious comprehension.

An illiterate person has less formal explicit competence, therefore his speech should rely more on spontaneous processes. This is in fact one of the most basic qualities of the context bound language which is typical of an illiterate group (Luria 1976), but it differs also between social classes. It is claimed that the middle class relies more on explicit and context free reasoning and linguistic behaviour, whereas the working class relies more on context bound and spontaneous reasoning (e.g. Bernstein 1971). The cause for the difference should be found in degree of metalinguistic awareness. Literacy promotes conscious reasoning and planned linguistic behaviour.

The level of literacy and active competence in language can perhaps be compared with musical comprehension. One can comprehend Beethoven's work in its entirety without being able to perform it or being "literate" in reading notes. Indeed, "illiteracy" in music has little to do with receptive or active comprehension and can even be an advantage for comprehension; without an interpreting conscious filtering of notes the

tunes are not compared with an ideal form. Furthermore, a skilled "literate" in music can play a Beethoven symphony correctly and still be unable to compose and play a similar masterpiece with the involved personal emotions that give the music its individual expression. Indeed, the skilled musician's melodies cannot be detached from the totality of his experiences, feelings and emotions: the musical "reasoning" is probably strongly context tied and interwoven with the musician's actions.

Technical skill in music is comparable with formal linguistic skill: the lack of "heartedness" is the typical characteristic of both. Technical musical skill can be separated from the musician's other experiences, feelings and emotions and derived from the score which roughly describes what is required by the composer in any particular performance. Both are active competences but still technical skill in music and linguistic competence could be regarded as features of semilingualism and semimusicalism — from Hansegård's perspective.

The measure of subconsciousness differs from person to person. It seems that the most plausible definition of competence is to let people define their own competence, whether they can express themselves as much as they desire at every given moment. They would argue that they have far wider and deeper receptive understanding than their active competence to express ideas, feelings and emotions.

Summary

Due to the lack of literacy in the context bound language a debate on an assumed semilingualism in the 1960s focused attention on the linguistic situation of the Torne Valley. Tornedalians were sometimes described as speaking a "semi hearted" language. An underlying assumption was that a balanced bilingual should be "full hearted" in every field and have access to a complete analytical instrument. There was rarely any separation between context bound and context reduced competences.

"Full lingualism" is compared with technical and spontaneous linguistic competences. Broad technical competence does not include a full hearted language. There is probably little correlation between analytical competence and the creative competence of an author. No-one has equal active and receptive competence. In addition, anyone can understand basic vocabulary, but it is rarely possible to use that vocabulary as well as the most creative authors. Subconsciousness filters and hampers active competence. Complete full lingualism is not possible to achieve.

Formal linguistic competence can probably be compared with technical competence in music. Anyone can learn technical competence in music, but few can create new individual expression. Technical competence in both language and music lack "heartedness", and distance the music or content from the performance.

Notes

[1] Sami was one of his mother tongues besides Swedish. He acquired Finnish in the bilingual area where Sami and Finnish were almost the only spoken languages.

[2] The term "semilingual" was originally used only to define the speech of poorly educated bilinguals. Today, a Swedish linguist maintains that pupils from the middle and upper classes in many of the Arabic countries are becoming semilinguals due to the fact that they receive instruction principally in English or French. According to the researcher, the well-educated class tends in-

Notes continued

creasingly to mix Arabic with English or French, and this is a sign of semilingualism. The reason for this behaviour is the massive prestige of English and French and the inferiority felt by many Arabic cultures (Svenska Dagbladet 1996-06-25).

[1] The word "semilingual" is a recent Swedish loan, *halvspråkig*.

CHAPTER 7

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Cultural inferiority

Shame and culture

> "In this area no-one really knows Swedish." (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)
>
> "Here they have been ashamed, they are too close to the border." (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)
>
> "It's sensitive for a human. I feel that as I'm a Swede I should be able to speak better Swedish than Finnish." (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)
>
> "In Sweden one should speak Swedish, that's what the Swedes say." (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)

Attitudes generally have a strong impact on social and linguistic behaviour. A hostile attitude among the dominating society will be reflected as self contempt among the minority. In the long run these attitudes are inscribed in collective behaviour and are passed on to the coming generations. The superior attitude of the monolingual Swedish speaking society has existed since at least the nineteenth century when Tornedalians were regarded as pariahs speaking a pariah's language, according to a Finnish observer who tried to describe the minority situation in 1865 (Slunga 1965:32, 48). During that time and the first half of the twentieth century widespread social Darwinian ideas on the Finnish tribe as subordinate in relation to the Aryan race were common; thus the subordinate culture would vanish because this was in accord with the Law of the Nature (Pynnönen 1991:49).

However, asserting these ideas in official debate was naturally not acceptable when targeting a particular group. They were primarily an implicit framework of ideas that permeated the whole of society and filtered understanding of ongoing processes in development. The only bilingual newspaper in the Torne Valley and in the whole of Sweden at that time, *Haaparannan lehti*, always denied that suppression of human rights existed — apart from a short period of more liberal attitudes (Tenerz 1963:302). Bishops, priests, newspaper editors, teachers and other well educated people claimed unanimously that suppression of any kind did not exist (Slunga 1965:48ff.). It was in the interest of the people — it was asserted — to learn Swedish and to avoid the spread of competence in Finnish (Slunga 1965:37). These attitudes caused a loss of confidence in being bilingual, and a corresponding ascription of increased status to the monolingual community.

A language is probably given low value when it is isolated from the public and is without value for social mobility. For a long time many have considered Tornedalen Finnish only as a hindrance to cultural development.

Figure 33. Do you believe that Tornedalians feel ashamed of their competence in Finnish?

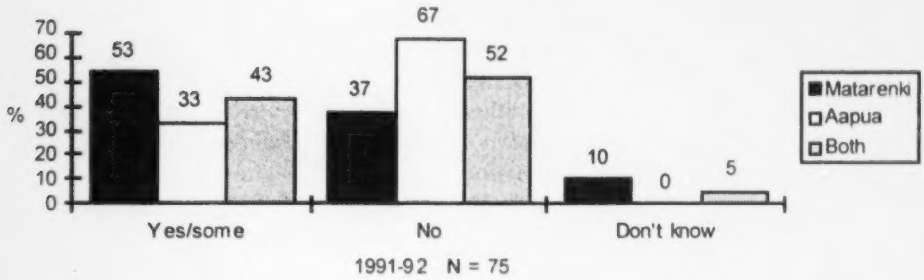


Figure 33 shows that 43 per cent of respondents to the 1991–92 survey felt that some or many Tornedalians were ashamed of their Finnish, whereas 52 per cent denied that such shame existed. In general this shame was associated with people older than about 40, i.e. those who had been exposed to the former hostile language policy.

The majority of the older age groups in Matarenki felt that there are or have been feelings of shame. On the other hand, in Aapua a lot of younger and many older people claimed that they personally had not felt any shame, and that few in the village had experienced emotions of shame. One reason for this may be that they had lived all their lives in a milieu where Finnish had totally dominated until recent decades. In Aapua there has been little linguistic diversity in daily life: Finnish has been — and is — almost the only language everywhere. Feelings of embarrassment emerge principally only when a Tornedalian is forced to speak Swedish in public with a monolingual Swede. This public monolingual contact is naturally more common in Matarenki. In the family domain communication is more relaxed, except in those families where one of the family members is originally from a monolingual environment, has married a Tornedalian girl and does not like the "gibberish" Tornedalen Finnish. In these circumstances a variety of mixed formal/informal language use may occur.

Younger informants in Matarenki often explicitly claimed that there has never been any shame, and that they personally have never heard of it. The knowledge of their social background is not transmitted to the younger age groups, at least not to those who have Finnish as a receptive second language. However, it can nevertheless be seen in their social behaviour. Swedish with a Finnish accent is still perceived as embarrassing (Waara 1996:119).

According to one person in the survey, Tornedalians have a deeply rooted shame that cannot be set aside, and that will cause total language shift: the emotional conflict interwoven with Tornedalen Finnish is avoided by speaking Swedish to children. The mind can tell the importance of being bilingual, but the heart tells another story. This particular form of suppressed emotions is not linked to Swedish and thus we can speak Swedish more easily even about emotions: the "heart" is pure and transparent in Swedish, she claims.

The reason for the association of shame with Tornedalen Finnish can partly be explained by the government's language policy this century. The school as an institution in the Torne Valley represents the wider society rather than the local community, and it is responsive first and foremost to national values and objectives. The schools in the Torne Valley — as in other countries with linguistic minorities — have played a negative role with respect to linguistic behaviour and attitudes. They excluded Tornedalen Finnish as a medium of communication and excluded it from the curriculum until 1970. Tornedalen Finnish was banned in many schools and children were boxed on the ears if they spoke Finnish in the playground or in the classroom (Tenerz 1963; Hansegård 1968). Often girls were asked to tell the teachers when boys spoke Finnish. For this the teachers rewarded the girls with paper stars which they glued in their books. "We spoke what we could at school during breaks," as a man said afterwards. In the work house school (*arbetsstuga*) the Finnish-speaking boys were punished by being ordered to stay in bed all day on Sundays. The "use of physical violence induced a type of aversion therapy in alienating him from his own language" (MacKinnon, quoted in Dorian 1981:28). In taking these actions over several generations the schools transmitted to the community at large a belief in the low value and utility of Tornedalen Finnish. This induced aversion towards the mother tongue is similar to experiences in a number of other linguistic minorities.

The repressive language policy resulted in the language becoming stigmatized. Until the 1980s Tornedalen Finnish was generally stigmatized and often associated with shame, and mixed- and semilingualism. Females in particular even denied their competence in Finnish, which may be due to the fact that females more readily realize the social consequences of speaking a stigmatized language.

A strong contribution to this stigma also came from linguists in their attempt to measure whether bilingualism has positive or negative effects on intellectual skills. "A large proportion of investigators have concluded from their studies that bilingualism has a detrimental effect on intellectual functioning"; it has been described as "language handicap" and "mental confusion" (Lambert 1972:111, 118; Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:224–5; Romaine 1989:103). Bilinguals were commonly regarded as less intelligent than monolinguals. The researchers seldom paid attention to their own influence on the object of their study.

Today attitudes are changing, especially from the majority's point of view. Competence in Tornedalen Finnish is sometimes felt by monolingual Swedes to be something exclusive. "Do you speak real genuine Tornedalen Finnish?" monolingual Swedes sometimes ask Tornedalians. One author from southern Sweden questioned a Tornedalian's Finnish accent: "You deliberately speak with a Finnish accent."

Because of this change in attitude Tornedalians' self valuation can nowadays sometimes be lower than the majority's evaluation of them.

Social stigma

Stigma, shame or denial of identity can be defined as the emotions caused by the clash between spontaneous impulses and ways of behaviour and the imagined social norms of expected behaviour. Shame emerges if the spontaneously used forms are poorly valued by the society, and reflects how the individual is fettered to the attitudes of the so-

ciety. When a Finnish accent occurs in spontaneous speech it clashes with the social awareness that this feature is poorly valued and lowers the status of the individual. It is in fact the contextual background of the individual which has implanted the particular type of behaviour, in this case the Finnish accent, which triggers these feelings of aversion. This conflict is a common feature among minorities without institutional support for their language.

The concept of shame is by definition located in the censured side of the human mind. Censure is produced as an emotion that does not accept parts of the individual's personal experiences and consequently the individual's history. Speakers tend to hide the stigma behind a facade of pride and self confidence, and unprejudiced, "objective", and neutral emotions, etc. (Goffman 1972).

There must be two competing desires before individuals can experience shame, and thus at least two possible choices. Otherwise if they only existed in one mode it would be impossible to experience the concept of shame, e.g. young children have no knowledge of any form of stigma.

Shame is often defined as a feeling of inability to follow implicit general social norms and rules of proper behaviour (Goffman 1972). When individual desires and practices stand in opposition to social expectations it follows that the social norm is to avoid the possible aversion through anticipation of future consequences, whereas to break the norm is to satisfy one's short term desires. Skinner would probably say that positive or negative reinforcement produces motivation to a particular behaviour (Skinner 1971:28). The most habitual force predicts the action. Even attitudes are often habitualized.

If embarrassment is triggered by a linguistic feature such as a particular accent in public life it must be because of a collective perception. This division in linguistic behaviour causes a role conflict, often alleged to exist among minorities (Liebkind 1979). Evidence for this conflict may be seen in linguistic practice in the difference between informal and formal modes.

> "I'm not a minority, I'm Swedish." (Older man, Haparanda.)

A homogeneous group has little internal stigma. When the group comes in contact with a majority it acknowledges as superior the stigma arises from the clash of differences in attitudes. It is common among immigrant groups and minorities in general to experience stigma, or denial of their group identity (Liebkind 1979, 1982). It is therefore possible to discuss the existing stigma from a minority–majority perspective. The individual's stigma can exist as part of collective experience in relations between the minority and the majority. If the minority member has accepted the majority as superior to his group, his ambition is to avoid being associated with the group in terms of linguistic practice, location, and cultural action. Despite the fact that his spontaneous behaviour reflects his social background he can deny membership of the group. This acknowledgement of the majority group as superior is probably associated with social upward mobility: social aspiration to achieve higher status by association with the majority group. This general mode of behaviour will be an underlying and partly unconscious structure in his reasoning, aspirations and action. This denial of social identity is often termed self hatred (Hansegård 1972:89).

All fields where anticipated negative emotions occur will be avoided, and even associative words must be rejected by the mind. For instance, the seemingly neutral term "minority" is often perceived as an insult and is associated with being backward and primitive, in a subordinate relationship to the majority. Therefore many Tornedalians reject such a term. Similarly they perceive terms such as "Tornedalen Finn" or "Norrbotten Finn" as pejorative.

The associative network of aversions may affect rational thinking, which may be evident as lowered ability in explicit and implicit reasoning. It is sometimes held by psychologists that level of self confidence correlates with shame (Jacoby 1994:21ff.; cf. Ashbach and Schermer 1994).

The level of stigma probably correlates with linguistic status. Nattavaara Finnish, with the highest percentage of Sami and Swedish loans, has the lowest status, followed by Gällivare Finnish and Vittanki Finnish. At the top of the Tornedalen Finnish varieties is Torne Valley Finnish, spoken along the national border. All three varieties, however, have strong associations with embarrassment.

As long as a collectively experienced stigma is present in the Finnish-speaking area there will also be collective ideas for a solution to the lack of self confidence and denial of the past. The seemingly easiest key to liberation is to get rid of the source: Finnish. When Finnish is abolished the members of the group are released from their dual identity — or so the average Tornedalian imagines. Another solution would be to be released from the desire to rank groups in hierarchical order. This, however, is a much greater problem. The third solution is to compete as a minority.

Feelings of aversion already exist wherever Tornedalians come in contact with members of the majority; it is impossible to avoid if they show typical features of being a member of a minority such as having a different accent and a strange name. In order to avoid being seen as members of the minority group they have to alter the minority group's typical characteristics by shaping the accent to the mainstream's television Swedish, and changing to a Swedish name. This has been fairly typical behaviour for many Tornedalians who have moved to the cities and become urbanized. Many claim that often former villagers did not dare to reveal their roots. This is apparently the reason why some individuals adopt the majority's way of speaking, i.e. use television Swedish when visiting the home village with the purpose of marking their new identity and superiority over the minority group of which they were previously members. The reaction from the minority towards these new habits is reflected in attitudes such as thinking such people are snobbish, fakes and pretenders. This reaction is partly an expression of jealousy of the superior status of the majority and partly a feeling of resistance towards the majority culture.

This denial of their Finnish culture explains why Tornedalians have often described themselves as more Swedish than other Swedish citizens. "A citizen from Stockholm finds it easier to accept Finnish citizenship than a Tornedalian" is a common phrase in the Torne Valley; and "We are Swedes, not a minority." In Haparanda it was a marker of prestige to lack knowledge of Finnish.

This is perhaps best expressed by a writer who tried to explain his former attitudes to Finns when he realized the implications of why he very much disliked Swedes asking him "Aren't you from Finland?" or "Which part of Finland are you from?" He wrote ironically in a novel: "Even Finns are humans, at least partly."

Tornedalians felt impelled to label all associations with Finland as negative in order to protect themselves from the feelings of aversion that influenced all kinds of associations with Finland. Even Finnish music, Finnish television, shopping in Finland, goods from Finland, Finns and the Finnish government were often regarded as having lower value than their Swedish equivalents. In doing this they tried to eliminate the stigma, by labelling all associations with Finland as undesirable. Most associations with Finland and Finnish things were experienced as a burden. The only positive effect was that Tornedalians could/can travel in Finland and get along. Even so they feel their Finnish is strange.

Because of these associations it became natural and general behaviour to speak only Swedish with children and dogs. People felt that if they did not learn Finnish they would not be part of the Tornedalian communal identity with its inherent role conflicts.

Some Tornedalians nowadays have confessed that they listen to more Finnish music, watch more Finnish television, travel to Finland more often than they did earlier, and see Finland with new eyes. They claim they have lost the attitudes which caused their earlier perceptions. These are probably replaced with new ones, however, perhaps in better harmony with the changed attitudes.

Tornedalians, as others, had little awareness that their attitudes towards varieties and languages are not confined only to the Tornedalen Finnish community, but to all varieties and languages in Sweden. The same striving for shift in language behaviour occurs among members of different Swedish varieties. The inhabitants of Överkalix municipality, an area near the Finnish speakers, had also recognized the negative attitudes towards the Överkalix variety during the 1960s and changed their linguistic practice towards a more Standard Swedish variety (Källskog 1990:201ff.). Today few adolescents can actively speak the Överkalix variety. The same attitude was also evident among speakers of other Swedish varieties, or bilinguals as they were termed in the 1960s (Österberg 1961).

One difference is that the inhabitants of Överkalix only learnt to be ambivalent towards their local culture, whereas Tornedalians came to despise the neighbouring country as well. A monolingual Swede in the Torne Valley does not have the same need to label Finland in negative terms.

Denial of social heritage

Attitudes to Tornedalen Finnish are changing slowly as the language shift continues and Tornedalians become increasingly fluent in Swedish. Nowadays few adolescents are aware of the former communal attitude. The adolescents of today nevertheless reflect their history in their behaviour and attitudes. They inherit opinions linked to emotions transmitted by their parents and the community, passed on in their attitudes to their culture. It is probably evident, for example, in the cognitive tests carried out in the army in 1987–88, when Tornedalian male teenagers with predominating Swedish scored among the lowest in Norrbotten, which as a county show one of the lowest results in the whole of Sweden (Idberger 1989). Their socially inherited low self esteem and habit of withdrawing from challenges and competition are probably reflected in the effect on cognitive performance.

Many parents are convinced that Finnish has only caused problems, in school, their careers and in society in general. Not uncommon attitudes are that children will be mixed lingual or even semilingual if they study Finnish as a home language at junior and intermediate levels in primary school. Learning this and similar linguistic practices and attitudes, the children come to possess a lack of confidence in their culture, subconsciously transmitted by the parents' habits. It is therefore not surprising that young people living along the Finnish border share the general opinion that Finnish is an unnecessary language.

The common low opinion of Finnish during the 1960s was dictated to the parents and children by society, mediated via teachers. Aversive language attitudes were linked to emotions. The language became, as all languages are, linked to social concepts. These are abstract concepts which exist only in a group where the individual's self interest is projected, e.g. in the status of the language, title, expensive car, house, etc.; but also aversive concepts such as a poorly valued accent.

Although attitudes have changed, linguistic habits are in many respects much the same as in the 1960s. "It is common enough for the native speakers of a dying language to state that they value their mother tongue greatly, while doing nothing to ensure its survival — that is, while failing to pass it on to their children" (Dorian 1981:106). This behaviour can be seen in the linguistic habits of several minorities.

The feelings associated with being a semilingual or mixed lingual without a proper language and ashamed because of it are for many people indelible memories and associations from which they cannot be released. Discussions about Tornedalen Finnish can therefore be like taunts to a tormented soul. This emotional aspect of bilingualism is typical for minorities with a low collective confidence. For instance it is argued from studies of Provençal that "it is striking to see that the question of speaking Provençal or not is one which arouses a lot of emotions. Even those who pretend not to be interested in the question tend to react highly aggressively. There is an enormous discrepancy . . ." (Schlieben-Lange 1977:104). In the Torne Valley there are almost physical battles when the use of Finnish is discussed in Finnish.

The existence of shame is met with aggression, avoidance, neglect, arrogance, etc. These emotions determine and control some aspects of thinking and action. The stigma prevents reason from ruling the mind, and thinking is no longer a tool in the hands of an independent and self actualizing human being, but in the mind of an indoctrinated person who cannot differentiate between his own attitudes and norms imposed by society.

Another seemingly absurd effect of the contempt and indifference towards their own culture is that Tornedalians in general have for decades gladly paid high taxes to the government for the purpose of abolishing the local culture. In addition, the same people may react aggressively to every project to develop Tornedalen Finnish culture.

These attitudes of dislike, stigma, denial and neglect of the culture are partly transmitted to the coming generations. They cannot be proud of a despised culture, although they have become totally monolingual. Instead they are alienated from earlier generations and strive for liberation from social divergence; but they are alienated from the culture as well. The consequence of this social heritage is a weak interest in supporting the home environment and a desire to join the mainstream in order to improve their low self confidence: an alienated mind will not provide support for a self realizing in-

dividual. It will be visible at the individual level as a weak involvement in enterprise, and at the public level in politicians' negative attitudes towards the Finnish-speaking region.

Changing linguistic behaviour

Tornedalians constitute a community through their shared individual practices which make them homogeneous in attitudes and action. In linguistic practice there is a community norm which demands that Tornedalians transmit only Swedish to their children. This norm has "freely" grown within the society where the mother tongue of the Tornedalians was forbidden, e.g. borrowing books in Finnish, speaking Finnish in school, etc. The application of the norm encountered resistance for several decades, because it attacked the older community practice of speaking Finnish. Thus pupils had to be punished for deviations from society's general standard. In this milieu the individual, partly by trial and error, was persuaded to a norm of behaviour which was in harmony with the government's language policy and which slowly replaced the former practice with a new one. The community norm of speaking Swedish with children was established when it was a clear advantage to transmit Swedish to younger generations, during a time when it was unavoidable that children acquired competence in Finnish from other sources. In subsequent generations the norm was applied in all situations.

Group norms can include negative associations, hinder free action and cause inferiority. Everyone bears the stigma and that is why everyone shares the group norms. But as long as the group sees these negative aspects as a consequence of deviant proficiency in Swedish, and realizes that there is a solution and an anticipated end, then they are understood as being temporary during a transitional period.

However, the average Tornedalian almost completely lacks awareness of collective linguistic behaviour preceded by an earlier positive attitude to the mother tongue, and is thus unconscious of its effects on the culture. The effect of the language policy increased slowly and was transmitted to the following generation as a collective heritage with networks of implicit associations and attitudes towards the culture itself. The language policy was finally internalized into the practice of the community and became a habitual norm for the whole community, which did not reflect on and take responsibility for its negative consequences. Although the earlier norms have vanished and been replaced by other more appropriate norms, the earlier ones are nevertheless stronger than ever because they have become part of collective habits.

Until 1980 the Tornedalian community had almost homogeneous attitudes towards the local language. Before the 1950s hardly anyone in the working class spoke only Swedish to their children; the general practice was to speak Finnish. Their customary opinion was a rejection of the idea that Finnish should be a compulsory subject in school, although — or because — everybody spoke Finnish in everyday life. However, they lacked fluency in Swedish, and regarded it as the school's duty to teach the pupils proper Swedish. They were mainly positive towards the idea of acquiring Swedish, but could only speak stilted Swedish and for that reason resisted speaking it themselves.

In the 1950s both opinion and language competence changed. Now parents had enough fluency in Swedish to speak mainly Swedish to their children. Many, however, spoke Finnish as well, and the children became bilinguals at home. The 1950s were a

time of mixed practice: the new collective norms were growing during those years, but it was a time of transition while the new norms replaced the old traditions. Speaking Swedish to one's own children in accordance with the collective norm was an outcome of social pressure, and naturally of the personal experience of lack of school success and of low self esteem in communication with authorities. The new norm was accepted because of the parents' experiences of their own problems in school with their lack of proficiency in Swedish, but without any experience of what effect the new norm would have. Common opinion held that children should not be victims as the parents had been. The Swedicization policy became the collective norm for appropriate behaviour during the 1950s.

A decade later Swedish was the only language spoken to children, but all parents still spoke Finnish with each other. The collective idea now was that it was stupidity to speak Finnish to children, or to provide Finnish as a compulsory subject in primary school (Kenttä and Weinz 1968). The vast majority felt certain that Tornedalen Finnish was a mixed dialect, not worth any particular attention. And language researchers defined the typical Tornedalian parent as a semilingual, unable to speak either Finnish or Swedish: this idea was generally accepted and accorded with people's low self confidence and failure in school.

Today the situation is influenced by both approaches, and to some extent comparable with the 1950s. The influence of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, however, is obviously much weaker than the language policy of the 1950s. The former collective norm of language behaviour is not totally accepted by everyone, and the reformers are confusing and provoking the community with their new ideas. Now it is possible to criticize common traditions. This produces anger and confusion. They again have two possible guidelines to apply in practice now. Old norms are criticized as invalid by people who have Swedish as their basic language, i.e. they follow the effects of the policy in practice but at the same time try to comprehend and criticize its negative consequences. The old norms, on the other hand, are defended mainly by people who have Finnish as their most fluent oral language and are not completely influenced in their linguistic habits by the former policy.

When the Swedish Tornedalians' Association was founded in 1981 many people liked it, but just as many were upset by the idea that Tornedalen Finnish could be defined as a language in its own right. The Association was a leader in norm breaking. Its members became models for new ideas, and a gradual transmission of their attitudes to the rest of the society emerged. However, the Association is a minority in relation to Tornedalians as a whole, and has found that by acting differently from the collective norm it is in conflict with those who are still hostile to Tornedalen Finnish. The reformers are working to redefine the collective norms and make them publicly known.

The homogeneous culture was broken down in the 1980s and Tornedalians were divided into two groups, one which was hostile to Tornedalen Finnish culture, and the other which was positive to the local vernacular and its associated culture. This division of attitudes produced cultural awareness. From the creative group of reformers strong activity emerged: a magazine and books were published, amateur theatre started, music groups sang all around the Torne Valley about the declining culture, and much discussion resulted from the Association's activities. This division of opinion prepared the ground for an increasing awareness which produced new ideas and cultural activity.

The novelists, actors and musicians gave a face to the stigma and low self confidence, and revealed the covert emotions of Tornedalians. The clash in behaviours produced collective awareness of themselves as individual members of a group. Through cultural activities many have become aware that contempt and low self esteem are not problems experienced only by individuals. Many had never thought of themselves as members of a minority. A typical example is the young student from Gällivare studying at a university in southern Sweden who heard for the first time of a minority living in Norrbotten. It took some minutes of an interesting lecture before she realized that she was the subject of the course.

These two opposing collective norms are easily identifiable and put into text, music and performances. As long as the collective attitude was homogeneous there was little opportunity to reflect different aspects and forms of behaviour. The individual in the group became aware of his social identity in thoughts and action and how his "free" will in choice, reasoning and responsibility were part of the history and the community. People were forced to think about generally shared ideas, and whether they were really the right ones.

The separation between these two groups went further when the Swedish Tornedalians' Association wanted to have Finnish as a compulsory subject in primary school and when some of the parents started to speak Finnish with their children. To break the generally accepted rule of linguistic behaviour was too much for many parents: "How dare you! Don't you know that your child will suffer and mix the languages when you do this; your children will receive shame and inferiority complexes", etc.

The rulebreaker was treated like a religious person who had converted to paganism, and needed help from the believers. A homogeneous society with shared norms provides an easier and more secure way of living. When someone breaks the norms, the others must define their own positions, and not just follow old ideas without reflecting on whether they are right.

Adolescents who speak Finnish and Swedish with their parents experience the same aversive attitudes in their contact with society. Bilingual teenagers visiting relatives and other older people want to speak Finnish with them in order to improve their own Finnish, but also because older people prefer Finnish, and are more easygoing in Finnish. But although bilingual teenagers speak Finnish they are addressed in Swedish. The shift in linguistic behaviour is confusing for many.

Status and linguistic identity

Studies of linguistic identity

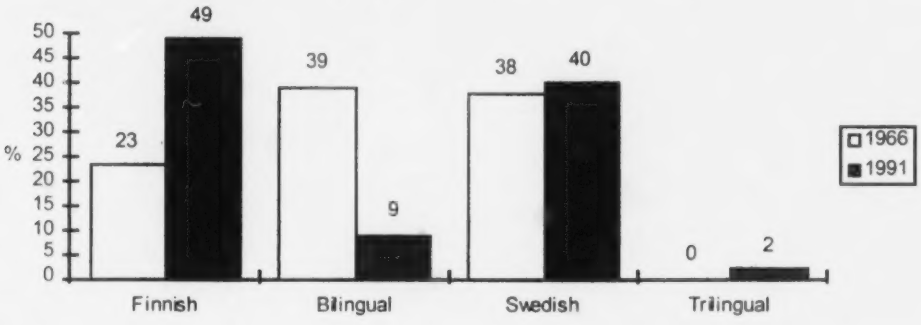
In 1966 23 per cent of the Tornedalians surveyed identified themselves with the Finnish language, while 39 per cent claimed that they had bilingual identity (Jaakkola 1973:131).[1]

In 1979 Radio Norrbotten found that 80 per cent of the inhabitants in Pajala, 79 per cent in Haparanda and 59 per cent in Kiruna spoke Finnish. About 31 per cent of those surveyed who could speak Finnish in the municipalities of Pajala, Haparanda, Kiruna and Luleå identified themselves with Finnish, 17 per cent had bilingual identity

and 52 per cent identified themselves with Swedish (Gröndhal 1992:6). In other words about 25 per cent of the inhabitants in Pajala identified themselves with Finnish. Only one out of ten children aged between 9–14 identified themselves with Finnish.

Another study was carried out in 1991, but it included only the municipalities of Pajala, Haparanda and Kiruna (Figure 34). The numbers have changed markedly in some respects: about 31 per cent still associated their identity with Finnish, 18 per cent with Tornedalen Finnish, only 9 per cent saw themselves as bilinguals and only 40 per cent described themselves as Swedish-speaking. About 2 per cent identified themselves with Swedish, Finnish and Sami, i.e. they were trilinguals (Gröndahl 1992:table 4). This means that 49 per cent of the Finnish-speaking people in Norrbotten in 1991 identified themselves with the Finnish language. The distinction made between Tornedalen Finnish and Finnish in the 1991 study may have caused an increase in the numbers with Finnish identity and lowered the proportion of bilinguals. It is noteworthy that identification with Finnish has increased a great deal since 1966, and that the number of those who identify themselves as bilinguals has decreased, perhaps because of the different form of the questions, but it may also indicate changed attitudes.[2]

Figure 34. Language identity: Finnish or Swedish?



Source: Jaakkola 1969; Gröndahl 1992.

The percentage in the studies by Radio Norrbotten can be compared with the percentage who nominated their most fluent language in this study: 50 per cent claimed that they are most fluent in Finnish, 24 per cent in both and 26 per cent in Swedish. Swedish identity among those who know Finnish is almost the same as in this study of best language, i.e. 41 per cent regarded themselves as most fluent in Swedish; whereas 40 per cent in 1991 identified themselves with Swedish, according to the study by Radio Norrbotten.

If identity is associated with the language used best in a particular mode we may conclude that competence in Finnish has not declined, or has even increased. However, the statistics on association between identity and language may instead be indications of changed attitudes.

Attitudes to Swedish and Finnish varieties

"Stockholmish sounds so proud and arrogant." (A Tornedalian.)

Tornedalians were asked in the 1991–92 survey to indicate their perception of five different language varieties spoken in Sweden, using a scale of one to five. Skånish (a Swedish variety spoken in the southernmost part of Sweden) clearly possesses the worst associations (222 points). Stockholmish (a Swedish variety spoken in the capital) is associated with pride and for that reason was given a low value (153 points). Torne Swedish (a Swedish variety spoken in the Finnish-speaking area of Norrbotten) received 104 points and was valued third lowest. Gothenburgish (a Swedish variety spoken in Gothenburg), which is perceived as a soft and kind variety, received 100 points, the best score of all the Swedish varieties. The most outstanding scores were given to Tornedalen Finnish with only 82 points. Tornedalen Finnish is without doubt perceived by Tornedalians as the best language of the five measured.

Skånish was often perceived as hard to understand and for that reason was given a low valuation. It differs from other Swedish linguistic forms with its diphthongs and is more difficult for Tornedalians to understand. Stockholmish possesses offensive associations and covert prestige. Many claim "It sounds so proud and arrogant" and "Stockholm Swedish sounds tougher, it's more fun for the ear." It is therefore often imitated among teenagers and people who have lived for a while in Stockholm when returning to or visiting their home village.

The result is clearly different from earlier studies where Tornedalen Finnish was felt as the most unattractive variety. A few claimed that Tornedalen Finnish is very ugly, not quite the worst, but laughable and embarrassing when heard on television; but the overwhelming majority felt Tornedalen Finnish was the most beautiful of the varieties spoken in Sweden. Public opinion is positive, so social identity is also positive.

A common attitude among minorities is to value their own language even more poorly than the dominant society does, e.g. French speakers in Canada (Edwards 1979). This was probably the situation in the Torne Valley during the 1970s and earlier. In an elementary study of attitudes in the mid 70s Cullblom found, among pupils in primary school in Luleå city, villages in Luleå municipality, Torne Valley and a Finnish immigrant group in Haparanda, that Tornedalians themselves had the strongest negative associations for Torne Swedish, and that the lowest attitudes in general towards the varieties in the test were towards Standard Finnish and Torne Swedish. In general the most positive attitudes were associated with Standard Swedish (Cullblom 1978:24).

Loman had conducted an investigation of attitudes towards Torne Swedish and Skånish in 1971–72. The informants in the northern part of Sweden were from Piteå, Luleå, Boden and Kalix, i.e. from Swedish-speaking areas in Norrbotten (Loman 1974:191). They gave a positive valuation of Skånish and a more negative valuation of Torne Swedish, whereas Stockholm citizens by contrast gave a higher valuation to Torne Swedish than to the varieties in the southern part of Sweden (Loman 1974:205).

The explanation for the low prestige of Torne Swedish, according to Loman, was that the varieties in a neighbourhood tend to be felt very sensitively. Skånish in his investigation had high prestige because of the high numbers of middle class Skånish people who lived in northern Sweden (Loman 1974:205). Though the differences in Loman's result were small, it was still quite a common opinion in the 60–70s that a

Tornedalen Finnish accent was stigmatized. Andersson (1992:139) argues that attitudes to one's own variety are divided. On the one hand people want to belong to a positively valued group, but on the other hand varieties learned in school are thought to be lower in prestige than a Standard variety. Membership of a group does not always coincide with prestige.

In southern Sweden the general opinion is that varieties in northern Sweden are perceived positively, whereas southern varieties are poorly valued (Andersson 1992:140). Stockholmish has negative connotations, especially in Gothenburg, probably because of Gothenburg's position as the second biggest city in the country.

Attitudes in the Torne Valley have obviously changed as well. During the period when Finnish immigration to Sweden was at its greatest the lowest prestige was associated with Tornedalen Finnish and especially with a Finnish accent in Swedish. Now when Finnish immigrants and their children are represented at many levels of society, public attitudes to the varieties spoken in the area are positive. Speaking Finnish is not something to feel ashamed of to the same extent as formerly. In the 1960s people could be proud of saying: "I can only speak Swedish, no Finnish at all." It was quite common that many did not dare to speak Torne Finnish when there were monolinguals present, e.g. on buses, in cafeterias, etc. This is changing. Public opinion is more positive but private attitudes can nevertheless still be negative.

Figure 35. Which language is nicer, Tornedalen Finnish or Standard Finnish?

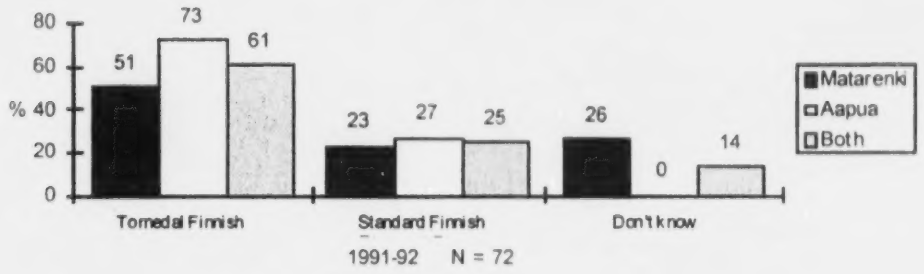


Figure 35 shows that there is a strong tendency to value Tornedalen Finnish more positively than Standard Finnish. Previously Standard Finnish had been regarded as the better and "real" Finnish. Even now some people, especially older people, are of the opinion that Tornedalen Finnish is not "real" Finnish, whereas young people claim: "Our Tornedalen Finnish is nicer than real Finnish, it is so easy"; and "Finland Finnish is so hard, Tornedalen Finnish is softer."

The change in linguistic attitudes, however, is not only a local matter for Tornedalians. All over the country there has been a more positive re-valuation of Finnish. One piece of evidence of a dramatic change in attitudes towards Finnish comes from a company which sells carpets by telephone, with a central selling area in central

and southern Sweden. It placed an advertizement in local newspapers in Norrbotten seeking a number of telephone sellers, especially monolinguals from Haparanda (DN 19/10-94). The northern Swedish accent is generally perceived as trustworthy, reliable and safe by Swedes in southern Sweden, and the accent in Haparanda — where a high percentage have some Finnish accent when speaking Swedish — should according to this company be seen as the ultimate accent for a telephone seller.

Dialect or language?

Before sociolinguistics was introduced as a subject in universities it was fairly easy to define the Standard language of a nation. It was often assumed that people who spoke the Standard language were more intelligent and thus it was not strange that the middle and upper classes spoke the Standard language — an example of so called circular reasoning. Dialects were deviations from the hierarchically better Standard language. This perspective was strongly linked to the idea that language can have a scientific definition, independent of social conditions and variables. Thus a dialect could be defined in neutral terms. This idea was generally accepted in Western society until the 1950s and was the context for and predicted many pedagogical ideas and linguistic research.

Since at least the 1950s the difference between a language and a dialect has been a hotly debated issue. However, no clearcut rule to define when a spoken form is a language and when it is a dialect has ever been found. Some nations have a great diversity in their oral vernaculars, and often many of the varieties are almost completely incomprehensible to other groups. Despite this, particular governments often term the spoken varieties of their nation as varieties of one language. This is the case in China, for instance. On the other hand in Scandinavia we have nearly the opposite situation. Swedish, Norwegian and in some respects Danish are to a great extent mutually comprehensible. They are nevertheless defined as three different languages. Furthermore, in Sweden we have some varieties of Swedish which are more distant from Standard Swedish than Standard Norwegian is from Standard Swedish. Despite this they are defined as dialects or varieties. However, one of the leaders in defining local dialects as languages was Tore Österberg from Sweden. He claimed as early as 1961 that dialect speakers had to learn a new language in school and argued that it was better to let them learn the written form of their local language (Österberg 1961). This idea sparked much linguistic research.

One common definition is that dialects have mutual intelligibility, whereas languages are not mutually intelligible (e.g. Hock 1991). This definition ignores the social and political reasons why some varieties are defined as languages, whereas others are defined as dialects. This lack of definition is an important problem when any government tries to define the number of minorities existing within its nation. It is not possible to use only one criterion and strictly apply this to the minorities.

The diversity of definitions is one of the reasons why some linguists have abandoned the criterion of "liberated from their social context" and now use the well known definition that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy", i.e. if it has the support of public and government institutions. Surprisingly often this is precisely the case. But this access to symbolic power as an element of the definition has the negative consequence that it must exclude autochthonous minorities within a nation. Their

"army and navy" exist mostly in another country, and therefore the concept cannot be applied to them. If the minority language lacks institutional support the speakers have no access to symbolic power in their mother tongue. They are forced to follow the directives and definitions given by the majority. For instance within the EU we have estimations that between 25 and 45 million people, depending on how the minority members are counted, speak another language as a mother tongue in addition to the majority language of the nation they live in (EBLUL Booklet 1995).

The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages has as one of its missions to define autochthonous minorities within the EU. It is fairly easy to separate immigrant groups from autochthonous minorities, but a more pragmatic approach is required when a variety is distinguished from a language. One must investigate whether the group has been oppressed, whether it has direct access to public institutions, whether it is represented in the society on an equal basis with the majority population, whether its members work actively and idealistically in order to promote their language, whether they have grammars and dictionaries of their language, etc.

One can abandon the concept of language and dialect as free from social context and maintain that clearcut definitions do not exist. Instead, we can apply these terms within their social meaning. A group of dialect speakers consists of those who feel affinity with a majority culture, i.e. they are defined by self categorisation. It is common, for instance, among minority language speakers to maintain that they speak a "mixed up" language (with code switching and well integrated loan words from the majority language), whereas it is rare to find anyone claiming that the dialect is mixed up with the Standard language, i.e. a speaker of a variety has weak awareness of the dialect form distinguished from the majority language.

We can apply the social definition of language to Tornedalen Finnish. Among linguists in Finland and in common knowledge about Tornedalen Finnish, the vernacular was and to some extent is considered as a dialect/variety of Northern Finnish. Tornedalen Finnish was spoken on both sides of the Torne River. This definition was established in the late nineteenth century when Finland created its Standard language. The independent nation of Finland dates from 1917. Linguistic research was part of the social question of whether to understand languages as part of one nation or according to their comprehensibility and closeness to other varieties. From a purely linguistic viewpoint — phonology, morphology, syntax, etc. — Tornedalen Finnish was and is clearly a dialect of Northern Finnish. It is the great number of loans from Swedish in new occupational fields which sets it apart from other Northern Finnish varieties, as well as some elaborated Standard Finnish forms integrated into the vernacular. The social differences were ignored, however, and explained as being caused by the negative discriminatory policy of the Swedish government. The particular position of not being fully accepted Swedish citizens, and the social consequences of this for attitudes and socio-economic conditions, was rarely discussed. But by taking this position the linguists defined their majority perspective and became allies of the majority government; and, although they criticized the particular government for the enforced language policy, they nevertheless did not shift perspective. The terms "language" and "dialect" were rarely discussed in relation to political ideologies. It was maintained that a scholar could have a neutral standpoint based on pure facts (e.g. Hansgård 1969).

From a sociolinguistic and sociological perspective the Tornedalen Finnish issue gained another dimension. Now it was shown that Tornedalians suffered from semilingualism, unemployment, lack of confidence, lack of education, lower IQ, etc. Thus, along with the Sami, they clearly constituted a minority within Sweden. Hence if they possessed the features of a minority they spoke a different language from the Finns who lived on the other side of the Torne River and who did not suffer to the same extent from these characteristics or feel they were apart from a majority culture.

It was a sociolinguist in Finland, Professor Heikki Paunonen, who first defined Tornedalen Finnish as a language in its own right. This was based on the social position of Tornedalen Finnish. Awareness of the social consequences of speaking Tornedalen Finnish in Sweden, and the growing awareness of minority issues within Europe, led to the introduction of Tornedalen Finnish in home language instruction, the foundation of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, and the self categorisation of Finnish speakers as a minority. Even formerly common terms such as "Tornedalen Finn" and "Norrbotten Finn" were seen as pejorative because of the association with Finland and Finns. Therefore the terms "Tornedalian" and "*Mëankeli*" were preferred for their self categorisation, although the term "Tornedalian" has a fairly long tradition within the group.

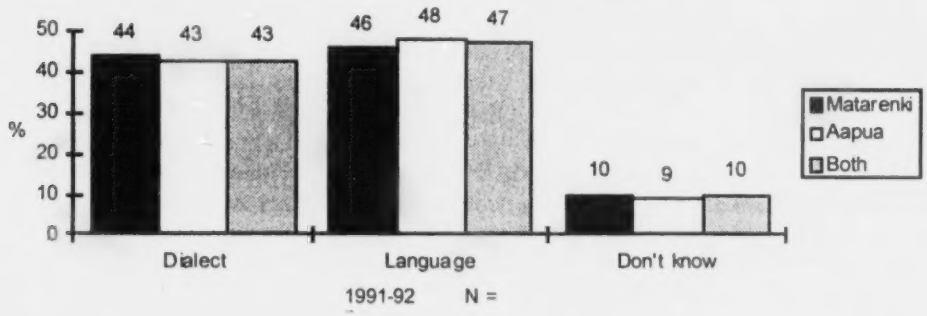
In Sweden we have a number of Swedish varieties which do not have complete mutual comprehensibility, but they all share the common feature that they possess or have possessed higher prestige than Tornedalen Finnish and Sami because they are varieties of Swedish. However, there are cases where the definition cannot be attributed to sociolinguistics or linguistics, but more to political ideas. Thus, "language" and "dialect" are often political rather than linguistic terms.

Tornedalen Finnish: a dialect or a language?

> "It has been nothing but a hindrance. I could perhaps have been a professor, but I didn't know Swedish. I don't like this talk of Our Language at all. Stop the drivel about Our Language. It's better that the children get the same opportunities as other Swedes." (Male, 55 years, Kainulasjärvi.)

In the 1960s ideas from sociolinguistic research had not yet reached the majority of linguists in Sweden and Finland. The discussion on semilingualism in the Torne Valley was therefore based on the assumption that Tornedalen Finnish is a dialect of Standard Finnish. Research, methodology and analysis proceeded from this paradigm. In the late 1970s the County Board of Education started to analyse the linguistic situation of the Swedish Torne Valley and came to the conclusion that the vernacular spoken in the area should, for pedagogic reasons, be used in instruction. This approach would reinforce linguistic confidence. The Swedish Tornedalians' Association went further and declared that it is a language in its own right. However, the idea of Tornedalen Finnish as a language was hotly debated among the local inhabitants, as Figure 36 shows. One approach is the fear of isolation, whereas others claim that Tornedalen Finnish is a bridge to Standard Finnish.

Figure 36. Is Tornedalen Finnish a dialect or a language?



Many assert that talk about Tornedalen Finnish as a language in its own right is stupidity and nonsense. The Swedish Tornedalians' Association, located in Aapua, has not changed the opinion of more than half of the inhabitants. People in Aapua are not prepared to designate their Finnish speech as a language, any more than people in Matarenki are. However, more than 40 per cent of the informants argue that Tornedalen Finnish should be the language of instruction in primary school and almost 50 per cent argue that it is a language. More than 40 per cent do not define it as a language. One possible reason for this is that many still feel ashamed of their Finnish competence, due to the view that they feel they ought to learn "proper" Finnish.

> "The Finns have real Finnish, we have peculiar Finnish." (Female, Matarenki.)
>
> "The Finns understand us, we don't understand them." (Female, 45 years, Matarenki.)
>
> "Our dialect is restricted. Finland Finnish is a solid language." (Male, 45 years, Aapua.)
>
> "Our Language is not a language, but a mixture of anything." (Male, 30 years, Aapua.)

However, the change of attitude is probably happening rapidly. The increasing use of Tornedalen Finnish in the media and in some public domains, amateur theatre, official recognition as a minority language, and officially supported cross-border contact are evidence of the pace of the change. The ongoing debate has resulted in a more favourable — or at least rational — approach to the language question.

The new cultural awareness

Change in opinion

Despite the rapid ongoing language shift quite a few Tornedalians are positive towards the future of Tornedalen Finnish. Between 40 and 50 per cent believe that it will survive. Some of their answers include: "I hope it will survive"; "It will be an elite lan-

guage — the well educated and the Finnish immigrants will be bilinguals, all the rest will be monolinguals"; "It will survive, but there will be fewer who can speak it."

Figure 37. Has your attitude changed toward Tornedalen Finnish?

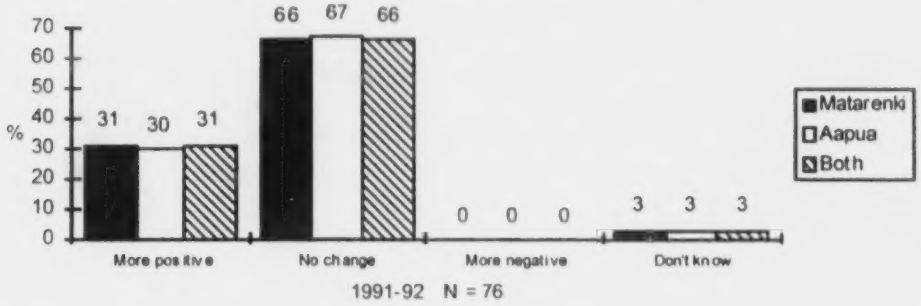


Figure 37 shows whether people believe their attitude to Tornedalen Finnish has changed. The change in attitudes is partly independent of village background or occupation.

The overwhelming majority was once clearly negative towards Tornedalen Finnish. Today about 25 per cent believe that there has been no change in common opinion, whereas 70 per cent claim that people nowadays are more positive. Only 5 per cent maintain that attitudes have become worse, mainly because they argue that more and more people have lost interest in promoting Tornedalen Finnish culture. About 30 per cent claim that their personal opinion has changed and become more positive, whereas 66 per cent maintain they have not changed. Informants felt that opinion was divided but that attitudes would be resolved fairly soon.

Many argued that Tornedalians are more conscious of the bilingual situation now, i.e. those who have been strongly negative are more negative now, and those who have been positive are more positive now. On the other hand, many are apparently neutral, indifferent or do not take any standpoint. One female teacher argued that Tornedalen Finnish is associated with unemployed Finns who come to Sweden and live on Swedish social welfare; and that this produces rejection of everything Finnish and particularly Tornedalen Finnish. (This teacher held the same attitude in the 1960s too.)

Almost every adult had noticed the work of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association and private individuals and knew that many are positive towards Tornedalen Finnish. Many of them felt that it is not appropriate to express any negative feelings. These individuals were often found in the group that claimed there is no change in attitudes: it has always been negative. This group included indifferent, negative and positive unchanged attitudes. About 70 per cent of informants said that public opinion has changed, but about 70 per cent said that their own opinion had not changed. The discrepancy reflects the difference in public and private attitudes.

The reasons for change vary but some maintained, for example, that they have become conscious of their identity as part of a group, that they are not more stupid than

others in spite the fact that they speak Tornedalen Finnish, and that society accepts their Finnish as a part of a pluralistic culture. Others said that the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, amateur theatre, schools and discussion about the ongoing language death have changed the minds of many Tornedalians. The active work of the Sweden Finnish associations for Finnish in Sweden have also influenced Tornedalians positively.

One person believed that education in primary school has changed people's perspective. In his childhood they learned that everything desirable came from the southern part of Sweden, while they themselves were a forsaken group on the fringe of the prestige culture. Today to some extent some teachers try to inculcate awareness in their pupils that all cultures are equal, and that the history of the Torne Valley is as important as the history of Skåne and other counties in southern Sweden.

Quite a few Tornedalians have deliberately begun to use more Tornedalen Finnish in domains that earlier had had a strong Swedish influence, and feel prouder of having proficiency in Finnish. In kindergartens, preschools and primary schools a clear change in attitudes is evident among the teachers. In some kindergartens and preschools the staff try explicitly to improve the children's knowledge of Finnish, and teachers use more Finnish in the staffroom — although, or perhaps because, Finnish has vanished from the playgrounds.

Nowadays it is sometimes fashionable to have some competence in Tornedalen Finnish. Even small children have noticed the change: "I feel ashamed that I have no knowledge of Tornedalen Finnish", a young girl said to her mother. The lack of speakers of Tornedalen Finnish among younger age groups and the increasing focus on language issues have led to new ways to acquire the language. A seven year old girl had an advertizement in *Met-aviisi*: "I am looking for pen friends between 7–80 years who know Our Language, because I learn it in school. Write mostly in Swedish" (*Met-aviisi* 1994–3).

Opinion about Tornedalen Finnish is divided into two roughly equal groups. About 50 per cent claim that it is a language, while about 50 per cent claim that it is not. The same division is visible in other statistics: 50 per cent claim that no shame exists about having bilingual proficiency; 55 per cent would help their children to study Finnish if they wanted to; about 50 per cent claim that it would be better to study Tornedalen Finnish than Standard Finnish in home language instruction; and approximately 50 per cent believe that Tornedalen Finnish will have a future.

In the 1960s hardly anyone felt that Tornedalen Finnish could be regarded as a language with specific legal rights (Jaakkola 1969). The idea did not even occur then.

Middle class people were overrepresented among those who were positive towards Tornedalen Finnish. They were often teachers, headmasters, journalists, and others who were more educated than the average. In addition, there were many people active in amateur theatre, writing, the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, and other cultural activities who were naturally more positive towards their own culture. It is very common that well educated minority members become the frontrunners in changing attitudes (Allardt 1979; Romaine 1989:65).

Negative attitudes were often expressed by workers in the practical fields who were indifferent about linguistic issues and eager to be assimilated as quickly as possible, and who seldom considered the question of the status of Tornedalen Finnish and its fu-

ture. Their behaviour was mainly to follow the mainstream. They often asserted that they were semilinguals, monolinguals who spoke two languages, or one and a half linguals. However, there were also fairly aware people who were negative and tried to analyse the recent stress on Tornedalen Finnish. Some of them argued that a positive attitude towards Tornedalen Finnish is only a nostalgic idea caused by a vanishing culture, one not worth any particular protection. Others claimed that Tornedalen Finnish had only been a hindrance in their education and had led to unsuccessful careers. Many argued that Standard Finnish has only about five million speakers and Tornedalen Finnish have only about 40 000 speakers, so it is not worth learning a language spoken by so few. Some of the opinions included:

> "I can't understand who could benefit from Our Language. One hasn't any help from it. You are neither a Finn nor a Swede. Our Language proponents will never learn Finnish if they live here." (Male, 40 years, Matarenki.
>
> "It's a very ridiculous movement, Our Language. It's a small language and there's absolutely no hope that it will ever survive." (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)
>
> "It is a common opinion that Our Language is only for those who are well educated." (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)
>
> "This talk of Our Language is just older people's nostalgia." (Male, 45 years, Aapua.)

A common idea among those who were negative was that Tornedalen Finnish was not a real language, only some gibberish, a strange mix of Finnish, Sami, Swedish and own influences. Swedish was felt by everyone to be the most important language to learn, but many workers claimed that they could not teach both languages to their children and that only educated people have the time and the knowledge to speak and teach two languages to their children.

When travelling in Finland many feel they have been not been understood even though they speak proper Tornedalen Finnish. Finns often laugh at their variety, some said, and added that Finns find Tornedalen Finnish vulgar, harsh, strange and uncultivated.

If there is a link between attitudes and social identity, the change of attitudes should be reflected in higher individual self confidence and hence a reinforced social identity. Confidence precedes creativity and the two opposing types of attitudes are probably a prerequisite for creativity and a source of increased metacultural awareness. The cultural activity in the Torne Valley during the last decade is a clear indication of improved social identity. Change in itself produces a collision between inherited attitudes and new emerging movements. This clash in attitudes forces people to discuss and reflect on previously unquestioned opinions. Until then the homogeneous society was also homogeneous in attitudes and thus no change emerged.

In particular the rapidly decreasing dominance of Finnish as an everyday language has caused determination to preserve it. Monolinguals and bilinguals are well aware of the importance of preserving a bilingual society near the Finnish border. One cannot feel embarrassment for a "lost paradise".

The revival movement and cultural activity

Nowadays awareness is growing of the link between language, attitudes and identity, mostly among people who are in the last age groups to speak Tornedalen Finnish as an active language.

This knowledge of the importance of the association between cultural identity and the spoken language and decreasing feelings of inferiority has arisen from increased pride in the Tornedalian social background. Activity in a cultural organization is seemingly also strongly linked with the increasing numbers of people who cannot speak the oral language fluently — a feature noticed in other minorities with a vanishing culture (Glenn 1989:15). Young people do not normally have any obvious sense of inferiority directly caused by bilingual competence, which was and is common among people older than about 30.

During recent decades a revival movement has arisen that wants to preserve and develop the original language. The Swedish Tornedalians' Association was founded by people who were mainly aged 20–35 years. They were almost assimilated as Swedes and thought of themselves as the last generation who spoke Finnish in everyday life and as members of an old and perishing tradition. Their Finnish was mostly not fluent, but receptive, restricted and consciously self monitored, while Swedish was their dominant tongue. As a reaction to this Swedicization they founded the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, which nowadays is an umbrella organization with about 5000 members and three local offices in Stockholm, Umeå and Kiruna. Its objectives at first were not mainly language issues but cultural issues in general. But it turned out that the language issue was the most important cultural feature for Tornedalians. This was the first movement in the Torne Valley founded by local inhabitants who supported the local language and bilingualism.

The movement gained a good response among Tornedalians. Suddenly they felt it was acceptable to talk about shame, guilt, inferiority, insecurity, etc. These were collectively shared emotions that had been suppressed for decades. Interest was focused on the negative aspects of the Swedicization language policy. The founders of the Association had not really understood how widespread these personal attitudes had been. Tornedalians all told the same history and were excited by the idea of preserving Tornedalen Finnish culture and trying to stop the ongoing process of decline. Their language attitudes were reflected in the debates that took place in local newspapers, radio broadcasts, and in private and official life. For the first time those who had been ashamed of their bilingual competence had the opportunity to come together and talk about their suppressed identity in an official association.

At first the Swedish Tornedalians' Association was viewed suspiciously by other groups and rumours were spread that it was only a new idea initiated by the communists in Norrbotten.[3] Many outsiders felt the organization's aims were ridiculous: it was stupidity to highlight a language variety that had no significant value. Common opinions expressed by Tornedalians included: "Let it die in peace"; "It is no use developing and defending a language which is dying"; "It is too late to stop the process"; "There is no pure Tornedalen Finnish, only a mixed language impossible for a Finn or a Swede to understand"; "Real Tornedalen Finnish was spoken at the beginning of this century — the Swedish Tornedalians' Association is many decades too late on the

stage." The former producer of the local radio argued "The Swedish Tornedalians' Association will be the end of Tornedalen Finnish, because already the name has excluded Finns on the Finnish side of the Torne Valley."

Almost from the beginning the Association declared that Tornedalen Finnish is a language and not a dialect, because it has developed differently from Standard Finnish and partly lost its contact with the Finnish spoken in Finland. The Association founded its own magazine *Met-aviisi* 'We', published four times a year with a print run of 1500 copies.

Met-aviisi at once became a magazine where everyone could write according to their own abilities. Many could not write in Tornedalen Finnish or Finnish and were forced to write about the past in Swedish, a different language from the one the memories were associated with. The lack of literacy caused a trilingual publication: Tornedalen Finnish, Swedish and Standard Finnish. Almost everyone who wrote was published. The policy was that everyone should write — that was more important than artistic values or journalistic qualities. Creativity as such should be the guideline for *Met-aviisi*. This free and radical attitude to grammar produced relatively many writers who wrote from their feelings rather than with explicit knowledge of grammar. Earlier they had only had Standard Finnish as a writing medium, but they knew that their spoken variety differed greatly from the written norms. Thus the lack of metalinguistic knowledge and the difference experienced between spoken and written Finnish had led to a lack of writers. They could not use their own implicit knowledge, and did not have extensive explicit knowledge.

Because of its visual form the written language tends to be normative and conservative for the spoken language. This lack of normative written language has resulted in a variety of different characteristic features of spoken Tornedalen Finnish. The same words are pronounced differently in several villages, while other words are used only in some parts of the Torne Valley. It is above all in the core vocabulary and grammar that Tornedalen Finnish has general features found all over the Tornedalen Finnish-speaking area. One important reason for the diverse spoken language is found in the history of the Torne Valley. The Finnish immigrants and settlers have come from all over Finland, and their traditions have been preserved by the lack of a written language.

Until the last decade Tornedalen Finnish has not had any common literary language. The two books in Tornedalen Finnish written before the 1980s did not have a wide impact. Many have read them, but few have accommodated their speech or writing to conform with these written forms. Still they function indirectly as an underlying source of written grammar.

Tornedalen Finnish grammar in printed form often fluctuated, and still fluctuates, between different writers. A detailed and fixed grammar does not yet exist, although the first grammar was published in 1996. The orthography sometimes varies widely between strong Swedish or Standard Finnish influence or often just completely wrong intuitive mastery. Slowly fluent mastery of a common grammar is progressing. After more than 15 years of publications the grammar has become increasingly puristic, and new Swedish loans have been banned and replaced with Standard Finnish words. The editors of *Met-aviisi* and the writers nowadays obviously have a strong tendency to condemn Swedish loans and not accept them as much as in the spoken vocabulary. Furthermore, the first attempts to establish a Tornedalen Finnish Language Committee

have been taken by Matti Kenttä and Bengt Pohjanen. Thus the written form is developing quickly from the spoken form. This may cause problems in learning written Tornedalen Finnish.

The Swedish Tornedalians' Association's purpose is to improve the culture of the Torne Valley, and especially to emphasize the bonds between language and culture. One of its first tasks was to make contact with language researchers and obtain professional knowledge of bilingual societies. A seminar on bilingualism was held in 1984. Topics included how bilingualism could be promoted, the problems it involved, comparison with other bilingual areas, linguistic oppression, and defining language/dialect. Matti Kenttä presented the idea of *Meänkieli*.

When discussion of inferiority decreased, interest was focused on other aspects of the culture. For some years interest in their Finnish roots was described by a number of writers. In school the history of Finnish in the area had never been transmitted. Many realized that the area was almost impoverished culturally. It had no Tornedalen Finnish and no Finnish author. The only writer who had the capacity to write books in Finnish, Bengt Pohjanen, a former priest with a PhD in Finnish literature, argued that the idea of Tornedalen Finnish as a language was ridiculous, because it would lose contact with the rich Finnish literature, and this would make the situation even worse (Wande 1984a).

Pohjanen changed his opinion some years later and wrote the first artistic novel in Tornedalen Finnish, *Lyykeri* (1985). It became popular and was read on the local radio station. Following this, Pohjanen declared that the advocates of the language should have as their first task translating the Bible.

Pohjanen became famous in Sweden and was called a prophet of the Torne Valley, a modern Lars Leevi Laestadius. Pohjanen broadened and deepened the revival movement and became involved at an early stage with amateur theatre performed by Tornedalians, written by themselves and for themselves: "Theatre by and for the people" was his motto.

After Pohjanen interest was also awakened among Tornedalians who could not speak Tornedalen Finnish but had grown up in the Finnish-speaking area. Mikael Niemi (1959–), a monolingual from Pajala, was involved in the movement and wrote radio novels in Swedish and plays for amateur theatre especially for Tornedalians, dramatizing their sense of inferiority and cultural denial. Pohjanen's and Niemi's novels had a wide influence even in the southern part of Sweden where thousands of Tornedalians had moved during the 1950–60s when the Torne Valley's agriculture and forestry industries went through a process of restructuring.

The novels were read in Stockholm and also initiated discussions among the Tornedalians who partly had forgotten their mother tongue but not the attitudes, emotions and traditions as members of a fringe culture.

Many Tornedalians became aware of the fact that this theatre was actually about their own experiences as part of a group. Many have become conscious through these cultural activities that their attitudes and behaviour are natural outcomes of a pedagogy that had good intentions but suppressed spontaneous activity in children and replaced it with feelings of inferiority and repression. Many argue that liberation from inferiority does not come from repression of feelings, but from making them public and explicit. Amateur theatre has worked as social therapy, like the Swedish Tornedalians' Associa-

tion movement was in the beginning. One person argued that to widen one's own awareness is to overcome suppressed emotions and express them neutrally, or with controlled empathy, in public. Increased creativity and social awareness are obvious consequences when aversions are traced to their sources, he claimed.

Until the beginning of the 1980s only a few amateur theatre groups existed in the Torne Valley, but during that decade this form of creativity almost exploded in intense activity. Amateur theatre companies were established in a number of villages. The best known one is the Torne Valley theatre (Tornedalsteatern, ToTe) established in 1985 (Henriksson 1989:49ff.). It has performed in southern Sweden and Finland. Recently an amateur theatre group for youths was established in Pajala, and an amateur theatre festival was held in Pajala in 1996. About 120–150 different performances have been put on by the villagers. Mostly the plays express traditions, history and music in the form of revue, comedy and farce, although serious attempts to dramatize the minority position occur, especially in plays written by Niemi and Pohjanen. The actors perform in Tornedalen Finnish and Swedish and often in a "mixed" language using code switching frequently, reproducing their collective bilingual behaviour. Older actors use Finnish in domains where it was originally used, while younger actors mainly use Swedish. Many feel that they cannot retell a story in a different language, or the point will be lost. Jokes, stories, proverbs, old tales and all kinds of spoken traditions are expected to be retold in Finnish, whereas younger actors reflect their relation to the environment mainly in Swedish and show their loss of oral Finnish traditions. The manuscripts, if they exist, are written in both languages.

The growth of amateur theatre is a result of the changed attitudes towards the spoken language. Amateur theatre had been performed in the 1950s, mainly in Standard Finnish or Swedish, but that activity did not establish a tradition partly because of the divergence between performed and everyday language. An actor using a formalized language will face problems in expressing and involving emotions and eliciting spontaneous comprehension from the audience. No jokes, proverbs and fairy tales can wholly be retold in a language other than the local variety; that and the network of attitudes and associations in the local variety are the reasons why standup comedians use local varieties to tell a story. Attitudes to the local variety thus suppressed creativity and influenced the cultural life of the Torne Valley. When attitudes changed it was acceptable to speak on the stage in the same way as in private life. The actors were thus able to express themselves through their own characters and the audience could comprehend the content of the play on the immediate level, i.e. avoid self awareness (cf. *Met-aviisi* 1993:4ff.).

One musician claims that his songs in Tornedalen Finnish are even better understood in Finland, in spite of it not being their mother tongue, because Tornedalen Finnish has better preserved its spontaneous contact with emotions. Finland Finnish has become too analytic and is therefore not as emotional for poetry and music, he believes. Tornedalen Finnish, on the other hand, has minimal influence from the literary world and therefore it is more the language of the heart. His texts reach the human's emotional life without conscious reflection, the musician argues. His Tornedalen Finnish is certainly more interwoven with his experiences and emotions and thus even his music is more context bound and personal.

However, one other explanation that is probably equally likely is that Tornedalen Finnish is seen as exotic in Finland, because it reminds people of older northern Finns' speech. It is also interwoven with a great deal of ridiculing and humorous attitudes. The clash created by a seriously performed song sung in a language variety not usually used for serious performance uses the technique that standup comedians deliberately use.

The Workers' Educational Association has helped the theatre activity by employing a self taught playwright, Bror Astermo. In recent years he has initiated and produced over 100 different performances. Theatre has become an institution in the Torne Valley.

Despite the active amateur theatre movement the latest proposal by a Royal Commission on culture neglects this activity in the Torne Valley. It even suggests more support for other amateur theatre groups, but not for Tornedalian groups. Its explicit suggestion is for no change in support for the culture of the Torne Valley (SOU 1995:84).

Even at the beginning of the 1980s everyone who tried to write in Tornedalen Finnish felt the lack of vocabulary. Very few had a broad and distinctive use of written words, as Tornedalen Finnish had always been oral. That insight resulted in a decision to employ Professor Erling Wande from Stockholm University to compile a book of high frequency words in Tornedalen Finnish. The work went further, however, and many informants contributed words from their own villages. The teacher of Finnish language and Tornedalen Finnish activist Matti Kenttä completed the work begun by Wande. For the first time a dictionary in Tornedalen Finnish, with a content of about 12 000 words was published (Kenttä and Wande 1992). Every Tornedalen Finnish word is given with an equivalent Standard Finnish word. Mostly they are the same word, but pronounced slightly differently. However, many well integrated Swedish loans have not been included.

In the same year, 1992, a minor word list in Gällivare Finnish was published (Winsa 1992). Furthermore, the first articles written in Tornedalen Finnish and published in scientific periodicals appeared in 1993 (Winsa 1993). Tornedalen Finnish is now also used and accepted at scientific conferences in Finland. The grammar of Tornedalen Finnish was developed and published in 1996 (Kenttä and Pohjanen 1996). The acceptance of Swedish loan words in the text of the grammar is more radical than the authors had accepted earlier.

In 1994 a language committee was established. Its aim was to work for a homogeneous use of written Tornedalen Finnish. Its other task is to compile textbooks and teaching aids in Tornedalen Finnish. However, all work is voluntary. There is no support from public authorities.

Through social activities and festivities the Swedish Tornedalians' Association has involved thousands of people. In the late 1980s one member of the Association became eager to find a solution to the high percentage of bachelors in the Torne Valley, a common feature in Swedish country areas. He found that a big problem for the inhabitants was that those who had jobs and wanted to stay in the municipality were mostly unmarried men. As a solution to the problem he organized bus trips from cities in southern Sweden with a female surplus, for women who perhaps would find a husband from the Torne Valley. For this unusual action Pajala municipality became famous

and was discussed in newspapers round the world. This action resulted in the popular week in September when dancing, festivities and theatre are held in the Torne Valley where bachelors can meet attractive girls and women. The festivity is called *römppäviikko* 'the former vacation week for maids and farm hands', an old tradition that has thus been revived.

In 1988 the debates about the culture and its future led to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the Torne Valley represented a Swedish cultural minority and should be compared with the Sami, as they are the only two original territorial and national minorities of Sweden. The government has explicitly acknowledged the Sami as an ethnic minority and thus they have received special funds to maintain their culture. Until the preceding decades the culture of the Torne Valley had been neglected by the government.

The work of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association resulted in the foundation of *Tornionlaakson Akadeemi (Meän akateemi),* Academia Tornedaliensis, in 1988. The main purpose of the Academy is to work for the culture of the Torne Valley through sharing information and cooperation with Finland and Norway. The language issue is naturally important. Therefore the Academy has recently been given the rights to examine and have university courses in Tornedalen Finnish. Their first yearbook was published in 1991 (Academia Tornedaliensis 1991). The most common feature of the northernmost part of the Nordic countries is that without doubt the greatest cultural and trading contacts are in a north–south direction, i.e. within rather than across countries. One of the aims of the Academy is to lessen the importance of the north–south contacts and strengthen the east–west direction through the establishment of particular activities across the Scandinavian polar region. One basic idea in the work of the Academy is the expectation that it will also have a positive effect on enterprises such as tourism and small business. Today the Academy suffers from lack of funds, and its activities are partly supported by idealistic people.

Issues raised by the Swedish Tornedalians' Association

The basic aim of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association is to maintain a bilingual society and its particular culture. To this end it presented several demands to the Swedish government in 1983:

- Education for all pupils in the Finnish-speaking area in Tornedalen Finnish, Finnish, and the culture and history of the Torne Valley;
- Compilation and production of a dictionary in Tornedalen Finnish and teaching aids in Tornedalen Finnish/Finnish;
- Further education for preschool and school teachers so that they can work actively with Tornedalen Finnish and can transmit knowledge of the history and culture of the Torne Valley (SOU 1983:57, 171).

The Association partly reformulated these objectives some years later and added new demands:

- Recognition that Tornedalians are a native linguistic and cultural minority, and that the Finnish-speaking people constitute a part of the nation politically as well as geographically;

- Official acknowledgment of Tornedalen Finnish as a national minority language;
- Encouragement of research into the language and culture of the Torne Valley;
- Development of a written Tornedalen Finnish language;
- Introduction of education in Tornedalen Finnish and Torne Valley culture for every pupil in the Finnish-speaking area;
- Expanded Tornedalen Finnish radio broadcasting on a local and national scale;
- Television programs in Tornedalen Finnish;
- Expanded use of Tornedalen Finnish in public places and official institutions;
- Free education in Tornedalen Finnish for people moving to the area;
- Use of the original Tornedalen Finnish placenames and geographical locations on road signs as well as their Swedish counterparts;
- Use of original Tornedalen Finnish terms on maps as well as their Swedish counterparts;
- Development of contacts with Finland and northern Norway;
- Promotion of contacts with the Sami and their organizations;
- Repair of the antagonism between ethnic groups in the Torne Valley (cf. FIS 1993; STR-T statutes 1994).

Acknowledgment as a national minority is an important issue for the Swedish Tornedalians' Association. Therefore they rejected the proposal of the Sweden Finnish organization to plan for a Sweden Finnish parliament in Sweden (*Met-aviisi* 1993). There is a fear that the Swedish Tornedalians' Association will drown in the much bigger Sweden Finnish organization. The Sweden Finnish organization is more active because of its enormously better economic support from Swedish society and strong support from the Finnish Parliament, and because the people it represents have never suffered from a language policy similar to the one that affected the Tornedalian Finns.

Although some of the active members of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association argue today that they have not achieved their intended goals, and that the Association has remained only as a cultural movement, without incorporating other aspects of the society and without broad support from the Tornedalians themselves, it has still accomplished several of their intentions (*Met-aviisi* 1993). The work of the Association has had an influence on the use of Tornedalen Finnish in home language instruction, for instance, and the establishment of Tornedalen Finnish as a compulsory subject in two elementary schools, and general cultural creativity and increased social and cultural awareness (*Met-aviisi* 1993).

The most recent consequence of the work of the Association is representation on the Council of EBLUL, the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. This caused an intense debate among Tornedalians. The local newspapers and radio were fully occupied with the idea of Tornedalians as a minority for many weeks in February and March 1995. Perhaps the majority of Tornedalians resisted being defined as a minority. The term "minority" was alleged to be associated with "primitiveness, backwardness; split, autonomy, war". According to the debate in the local newspaper it was fairly common that the level of education and the age of the Tornedalian often predicted the attitude towards the term minority. Less educated working class and people older than about 40 were generally more negative to the term "minority". Middle class and younger people generally appeared to be more positive. The debate has probably

changed attitudes in a positive direction and forced many Tornedalians to define their own position in relation to the group. Placing the issue of Tornedalen Finnish in a broader European context will probably be positive for the future of Tornedalen Finnish and the Swedish Tornedalians' Association.

In 1997 the Swedish Tornedalians' Association applied for membership of the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN).

However, the most important effect of the work of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association has been the appointment by the Swedish government of two Royal Commissions on minority issues.

The cultural revival movement should not be seen separately from the general change of attitudes in the society, however. The Swedish Tornedalians' Association merely reflects one aspect of new relations between minority and majority cultures. Furthermore, the change in Tornedalians' attitudes is not an isolated process in the Torne Valley. All over Western Europe, Latin America and Northern America attitudes towards minority languages and cultures began to change in the 1960s and 1970s (Fasold 1984; Giles et al. 1991). In particular the black movement in USA, the Francophones in Québec, and the political activities of the left wing students in Paris 1968 have influenced minorities and initiated the ethnic revitalization movement (Allardt 1979:18).

The minority movement was initiated by the groups who had the best socio-economic position (Allardt 1979:64). This explains why the Tornedalian movement is about two decades behind the mainstream. The revival movement has also reached northern Norway where the Kvens, a Finnish-speaking national minority since the eighteenth century, founded their own association, *Norske Kveners förbund, Ruijan Kveeniliitto*, in 1987. Their purpose is mainly the same as that of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association (*Ruijan Kveeniliitto* 1992). The other minority in Sweden, Sami, were leaders in minority issues when they founded their political organization in 1950. Because they are considered an indigenous people their particular rights received international attention as early as the 1950s.

Positive middle class attitudes

Tornedalen Finnish is nowadays often seen as something positive by many Tornedalians. The changed attitudes are visible, for example, in decals worn on coats or stuck on car windows: "I'm Tornedalian and proud."

In the 1960s it was observed that negativity towards Tornedalen Finnish correlated with individuals' level of education (Jaakkola 1969; Wande 1984b:172). Education increased the already low level of confidence, and negative attitudes were passed on from society, especially from teachers and priests (Tenerz 1963). Even in the 1970s teachers in the Torne Valley region could describe themselves as not able to speak Finnish, although they spoke Tornedalen Finnish in their homes (Rönmark and Wikström 1980, rapport 79:33).

Overt prestige norms often move from well educated society downwards (Paunonen 1982:53–4). There are exceptions where norms are spread in both directions, as in Norwich English, where covert prestige norms are on the increase (Trudgill 1983:185). This can, however, be an effect of increased cultural awareness and thus not really covert.

In the 1970s there was no difference in language use between the social classes in communication with children, but Finnish dominated among practical workers (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:31).

Approximately 90–95 per cent of the families with both spouses born in Sweden speak only Swedish with their children. In Matarenki some original Tornedalian families speak Finnish with their children, perhaps especially amongst middle class families. In addition, some Finnish immigrants transmit their mother tongue to their children as well, often not as a free choice but because they cannot speak enough Swedish. Other immigrant families, especially in Matarenki and Haparanda, often deliberately speak Finnish to their children, and put them into Finnish-speaking schools. However, the belief is quite common that the parents are responsible for teaching proper Swedish to their children, and for that reason they speak their limited Swedish to their children.

The way of speaking has changed somewhat in the whole area. Many argue that they make conscious choices between Finnish and Swedish and try to restrict "unnecessary" loans from Swedish as long as they have access to sufficient Tornedalen Finnish words. The earlier "careless" speech is partly replaced with a consciously monitored mode. If Tornedalen Finnish is a language in its right it should be given an enhanced value, many argue, and should not be used just however it comes to mind, as many claim that they have done or do. But very few have models of how to speak in public life.

In the 1960s the local teachers were often the most critical towards Finnish, and were often advocates of the former Swedicization policy (Kenttä and Weinz 1968:30; Jaakkola 1969:27). In many villages their attitudes now are the opposite of those in the 1960s: often they are the most liberal. In the preschools and kindergartens of Matarenki, as in many preschools in the Torne Valley, a positive attitude to bilingualism is common, although behaviour is often conservative. The reason for this dualism between behaviour and attitudes is probably due to the fact that old habitualized opinions are still strong and effective hindrances to a change of behaviour. In particular the influence of some Finns and many monolingual Swedes resists many attempts to change the Swedicization process.

> "Finns are scornful. They say that it's better to speak Swedish than bad Finnish. And the monolinguals scorn our Swedish." (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)

But the habit of speaking only Swedish to children is hard to overcome: "I can't speak Finnish with children any more", said an elderly women to her son who had a newborn baby.

In Aapua linguistic behaviour is more homogeneous, reflecting the low social diversification. In the village about four families speak Finnish with their children; two of them are teachers' families. Their children can and will become increasingly able to speak Finnish. Their older children had low proficiency in Finnish, but one of the parents started to speak Finnish to the younger children. The father in one of the families decided to teach Finnish to the oldest son by allowing only Finnish in the sauna. Swedish was forbidden inside the walls of the sauna. They took saunas and spoke about spiritual and material things for several years. The son is now about 25 and — according to his own opinion — speaks Finnish almost as well as Swedish.

Clearly a tendency can be seen where Tornedalen Finnish is transmitted to the children by the middle class. This is quite typical in revitalization of a formerly stigmatized language (e.g. Neville 1986:153).

Literature in Tornedalen Finnish

In the seventeenth century the Tornedalian Antti Mikkelinpoika Keksi (Anders Mickelsson Keksi, 1622–1705) composed and recited a humorous poem that described the tragic ice breakup in the Torne River in the year 1677, and another less famous poem. These orally transmitted poems were written down about 100 years later (Wahlberg 1988:142) by a visiting Italian, Giuseppe Acerbi (Pekkari 1994b). Other attempts to write in Tornedalen Finnish did not occur until the twentieth century.

The inspector of the County Board of Education William Snell, (1896–1980), wrote of old stories from his own village put into the mouth of an old woman in the book *Kamaripirtti* (Snell 1972), and described the life of the countryside. His writing laid the ground for Tornedalen Finnish grammar in its written form. After him the farmer Johan Lantto (1885–1960) from Tärendö wrote his memories of past times and the developing Laestadian movement in *Juntin talo ja laestadialainen heräys* (Lantto 1973). None of these books are literature in the artistic sense, but good descriptions of the life in the countryside during the late nineteenth century. No more books in Tornedalen or Standard Finnish were written until the 1980s.

Some writers, mainly people from the orefields in Kiruna and Gällivare, however, have written books in Swedish. For example, the inspector of the County Board of Education and PhD, Albin Neander (1878–1928) wrote about the Finnish-speaking culture (Neander 1924, 1934). Furthermore, some books in Swedish have been published by authors living in the Torne Valley area, such as Georg Bergfors (1882–?) (Bergfors 1933, 1934), Fritz Niemi (1937–) and Hilja Kalliomäki (Byström) (1908–?) who has published eight books (e.g. Kalliomäki 1932, 1940, 1941, 1943). Without doubt the most productive author was Stina Aronsson (1892–1956) who wrote 19 books between 1921 and 1967 (e.g. Aronsson 1921, 1922, 1952, 1967). However, Aronsson was not born in the Torne Valley (see Isaksson and Westerberg 1980).

In the 1980–90s a number of Torne Valley authors have published books in Swedish, e.g. Hasse Stenudd, Hugo Rantatalo, Lars Wallin and Olof Hederyd. Wallin gained some publicity since his first novel in 1989 (Groth 1995:180). Only those writers who were born in the Torne Valley but moved to the south of Sweden as adults have become famous and could work as professional authors writing in Swedish, such as Björn-Erik Höijer, Gerda Antti and Gun Kessle.

The first well known author from the geographic Torne Valley appeared in the 1970s. Gunnar Kieri (1928–) wrote in Swedish of the oppressed pupils in school who were punished if they spoke Finnish in the playground, though they could not speak any other language fluently. He was not able to express his emotions in his own mother tongue, but felt sometimes that the past conditions could not be expressed in another language, and for that reason wrote some sentences in Tornedalen Finnish. These fragments in Tornedalen Finnish embodied the suppressed feelings that still were associated with his Finnish, despite the fact that he had lived in southern Sweden for a long time. Kieri is still an active writer, but has never published in Tornedalen Fin-

nish (e.g. Kieri 1976, 1978, 1982, 1990, 1993). His alter egos in the books are consistently personalities with fairly limited emotional qualities. This feature is probably partly a result of his restricted competence in writing in Finnish. Swedish distances him from his subject, his own contextual reality, i.e. Kieri has weak context bound reasoning in Swedish. In addition, he writes of the farmers' lives in the Torne Valley, but his comprehension of the farmers' talk was learned in Finnish, whereas he tries to write natural dialogues in Swedish. This produces a certain type of text where the author becomes more of a narrator and dialogues are often avoided.

Few authors have become famous writing in their second language; Joseph Conrad and Vladimir Nabokov are well known exceptions to this general rule. The reason for this creative silence in the second language is probably the lack of cultural background in it. In the Torne Valley illiteracy in the mother tongue caused an almost total lack of writers — as early as 1921 a proponent of Finnish as a subject in schools claimed that Tornedalians are functionally illiterate in both languages (SOU 1921:370). Before Kieri, no author who could describe the actual situation could emerge because few people had mastered context bound Swedish. Different levels of formal and metalinguistic competence in Swedish form a general competence which already existed, but this competence produces only the ability to recognize a given environment without producing the substructure of associations, and without abstracting conscious concepts to more general categories reflecting the life of the social group in its entirety.

Very few could write in Finnish because of the lack of education in Finnish language and grammar. Those who had taught themselves to read and write were mainly Laestadians who denied the importance of books other than the Bible, regarding all the rest as vanity and a waste of time.

The situation in the Torne Valley until the 1960s can be compared in some respects with the development of Finnish literature in Finland during the nineteenth century when Finnish became the written language of the public. The first well known author in Finland could only emerge in the artistic field when the people had acquired a broad knowledge of written Finnish. Thus Alexis Kivi emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century when the population was given education in Finnish. He gained literacy in Finnish and became able to transform the fluent spoken language into its artistic form.

Compared with northern Finland the literature of the Torne Valley has been largely absent until recent decades. The cultural process of recognizing Tornedalen Finnish can also be compared with the Sami movement. Before the 1960s there was hardly any artistic literature written in Sami; possibly the only exception is a book by Johan Turi in 1910 (SOU 1990:91, 84). Since the Sami have founded organizations and institutions that support their culture a number of poets and authors have emerged.

The work of Snell and Lantto was not followed until the Swedish Tornedalians' Association was founded in 1981. Then suddenly at the beginning of the 1980s rapid development took place in writing creativity. Several authors have published their books with Kaamos, the Tornedalen Finnish publisher owned by the Swedish Tornedalians' Association.

The most famous is Bengt Pohjanen (1944–) who is working on a translation of the New Testament, among other projects. However, he has written only one book in Tornedalen Finnish, *Lyykeri* (Pohjanen 1985). Before *Lyykeri* he produced some books

in Swedish, and was inspired by the Swedish Tornedalians' Association to work for Tornedalen Finnish literature. Before he was able or had the strength to write in Tornedalen Finnish he finished his studies in theology, became a priest and then continued with studies in Finnish literature and gained a PhD. After some years as a priest and lecturer in Finnish literature he became an author. He was rewarded the prestigious Ivar-Lo prize in 1993.

Today between five and ten authors are active in writing in Tornedalen Finnish, but many more write articles in *Met-aviisi* and *Haaparannan lehti*. Worth mentioning is Ann Christin Lundström (1947–), who found her poetic vein when she started to write in Tornedalen Finnish (Lundström 1989, 1991). Mikael Niemi (1959–) is another well known writer born in Pajala. He never had access to Finnish and therefore writes in Swedish of the lost and the existing culture. As an adult he has learned to speak Standard Finnish.

In literature for children Mona Mörtlund and Monica Johansson have written a few books (Mörtlund and Johansson 1991, 1993). The most recent book for children was written by Kristina Lantto-Toffe (1994), who has followed an old pedagogic principle by writing in Swedish with a Tornedalen Finnish version in the same book. In 1995 the first children's book was translated into Tornedalen Finnish by Pohjanen (1995). There is a great need for Tornedalen Finnish books for children. The value of children's books is not solely in their artistic value but also in meeting the demand for books for parents who want to teach their children to read in Tornedalen Finnish.

Radio broadcasts in Tornedalen Finnish

Local radio broadcasting in Finnish was established in 1957. Its first producer was the former county governor of Norrbotten, the late Ragnar Lassinantti. Finland Finnish was the main language until recently (1991) when one of the founders of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, the journalist Bertil Isaksson (1957–), became the producer (Isaksson, orally; *Met-aviisi* 1992:4ff.). However, official spoken Tornedalen Finnish shows the same typical features as written Tornedalen Finnish. There is an avoidance of a large number of the Swedish loans that occur in everyday speech. This "improved" Tornedalen Finnish derives from an implicit belief that everyday speech cannot be broadcast in its original form. In addition, it creates greater linguistic constraints for the people being interviewed. Isaksson and his colleagues often use Swedish loans but add the Standard Finnish equivalent in order to transmit awareness of the Standard form.[4]

The Tornedalen Finnish program *Pohjoiskalotti* is broadcast for two hours a week, every Sunday morning between 9 and 11 a.m. The broadcast is before the Sunday church service. In 1993 there were 6.5 hours/week of broadcasts in cooperation with Sweden Finns and Finland's radio, and 7 hours/week since 1994. Roughly 3.5 hours/week are produced in Pajala. Since August 1994 half an hour/week — or 26 hours/year — of radio programs in Tornedalen Finnish have been broadcast nation wide.

Until 1992 the local radio station had only one producer. There has been a clear improvement in resources for the local radio in Pajala in recent years, with four people employed since 1995. Despite this it is still not treated fairly in comparison with

Sweden Finns, for example, who in 1993 broadcast 667 hours nation wide, and about 8 hours/day regionally (DS 1994:97). The Tornedalen Finnish programs have roughly speaking only 30–40 per cent of the time that they should have if they were to receive equal broadcast time with Finns in Sweden, i.e. Tornedalians have three or four producers while the Sweden Finns have 12 producers for the same number of people. Compared with the Sami the inequality is huge. If the Tornedalians — between 60 000 and 80 000 in the whole of Sweden — had the same resources as the Sami in Sweden they would have roughly 40–50 radio producers; Sami radio in Sweden has 11 producers and about 16 000 listeners in Sweden (HB 1993). The Sami thus have more than 1000 per cent more resources.

Summary

The language policy of the Swedish government for a century has caused many Tornedalians to despise their bilingual competence and some aspects of their local culture. More than 40 per cent of Tornedalians feel that some or many bilingual Tornedalians are ashamed of their bilingualism, mainly because of their Finnish accent in Swedish, and sometimes because of they feel they do not have complete mastery of either Swedish or Finnish. There is a gender difference in responses: females have tended more to avoid Finnish.

An influential contribution to the stigma attached to bilingualism was made by linguists and teachers who in the 1960s and later claimed that bilingualism produces mental confusion, lower IQ and semilingualism.

Stigma, shame or denial of social identity can be defined as the emotions caused by the clash between spontaneous behaviour and the imagined social norms of expected behaviour. Shame emerges if the spontaneous forms are poorly valued by the society, and reflects the attitudes of the society. When a Finnish accent is revealed it clashes with the social awareness that this feature is poorly valued and assigns the speaker to a particular social rank. The contextual background of the individual has implanted a particular type of behaviour which triggers these feelings of aversion. This role conflict is a common feature among minorities without institutional support for their local language.

A homogeneous group has little internal stigma. When the group comes in contact with a majority acknowledged as superior, stigma arises due to the clash of attitudes. This tendency to avoid, neglect and despise the individual's personal history probably produces a weakened self esteem. The avoidance produces awareness of speech and other forms of behaviour and may hamper independent reasoning. This despising of the local culture in the Torne Valley caused an aversion to everything associated with Finland and Finnish in many people. The group reflected the poorly valued identity of the individual and in turn the individual reflected the stigma attached to the group.

The collective norm was implanted as a network of associated aversions towards Finnish, and Tornedalen Finnish in particular. Until 1980 the Tornedalian community had almost homogeneous attitudes towards the local language. Since 1980 the division of attitudes among Tornedalians has produced cultural awareness. The revival movement initiated extensive context bound activities such as amateur theatre, literature and music, and categorisation by the Finnish-speaking group of themselves as a minority.

In 1966 23 per cent of informants identified themselves with the Finnish language while 39 per cent claimed to have bilingual identity. In 1991 49 per cent claimed to have (Tornedalen) Finnish identity whereas only 9 per cent said they had bilingual identity. The reason for the increase in the latter study may have been caused to some extent by the fact that Tornedalen Finnish was included as a separate category from Finnish. The inclusion of Tornedalen Finnish enables the possibility of informants categorizing themselves as separate from Finns and Finland Finnish. It indicates a clear change in attitudes.

In the 1960s and 1970s Tornedalen Swedish and Finnish had low value in relation to other language varieties in Sweden. Today Tornedalen Finnish is said, in public, to be the most pleasant variety in Sweden, even nicer than Standard Finnish. The increased status of Tornedalen Finnish is probably linked to the idea held by about 50 per cent of Finnish-speaking Tornedalians that it should be regarded as a language rather than a dialect, and to the expectations of the society.

In the 1960s discussion of the status of Tornedalen Finnish did not occur: it was obvious that it should be regarded as a dialect. This was strongly linked to the idea that languages can have a scientific definition, independent of social conditions and variables. Languages and dialects were formerly defined in terms of access to power. However, the terms "dialect" and "language" should include notions such as minority position, alienation, self categorisation, prestige, bilingualism, social position, political ideologies, etc.

Many argue that Tornedalen Finnish should be a linguistic bridge to Standard Finnish and fear an isolated position for a language with so few speakers.

The last decade has seen a change in attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish, with nearly 70 per cent believing that there has been a positive change. Despite the fact that young people have weak active competence in Finnish, about 50 per cent believe that Tornedalen Finnish will survive in the future. Middle class people are generally more positive. Opinion is almost evenly divided. The reason for this change is often claimed to be the work of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, founded in 1981. This Association was the first movement founded by local inhabitants to work for the maintenance of the Finnish-speaking culture. The work of Matti Kenttä and Bengt Pohjanen has been another influencing factor. Pohjanen was the first to write imaginative literature in Tornedalen Finnish, although a few other books had been published earlier. The persistent work by the Swedish Tornedalians' Association has created an active interest in culture among local inhabitants. Pohjanen introduced and explored the potential of bilingual amateur theatre in the Finnish-speaking area, which so far has put on about 120–150 different performances. In the 1970s he was preceded by Gunnar Kieri who focused interest on the ingrained low opinion of the culture. Because of the former linguistic policy, however he was never able to write in (Tornedalen) Finnish. Mikael Niemi has followed the tradition, although he has never learned Tornedalen Finnish.

Folk music, amateur theatre, literature and local culture in its broadest sense were revived in the 1980s. The area was and is perhaps the most active in the whole of Sweden, at least compared with the earlier lack of interest. About 30 books have been written in Tornedalen Finnish. The local language is broadcast for about 3.5 hours/week. Tornedalen Finnish is used in scientific literature as well as at conferences. Two dictionaries have been published. However, economic support for the

maintenance of the local culture is far less than comparable immigrant and minority communities receive.

Notes

[1] This study included a sampling of the whole population in Övertorneå municipality, but almost everyone was more or less proficient in Finnish.

[2] The very positive attitude could, however, be partly a response to the imagined expectations of the interviewer, and to general social expectations. A sociologist from the Torne Valley argues that a Finnish accent is still seen as embarrassing, but — according to Tornedalian youths — that a real Tornedalian should be able to speak Tornedalen Finnish (Waara 1996:119). Nevertheless, there is a change in attitudes.

[3] The left wing has always been very strong in Norrbotten during the twentieth century, especially in the Torne Valley: 18 per cent were communists in the Finnish-speaking municipalities in 1962 and 82 per cent were social democrats or communists in Övertorneå municipality in 1966. In 1994 the former communist party gained 11.4 per cent of votes in Norrbotten (Haavio-Mannila and Suolinna 1967:50; Jaakkola 1969:118; DN 1994-09-19).

[4] Other minorities with radio stations that have a direct relationship between the number of listeners and the station's economy, broadcast their stigmatized everyday speech with the secondary purpose of changing attitudes and establishing a natural unconstrained contact with their listeners. One popular private radio station in southern Texas with one million listeners has for two years deliberately used code switching to produce a popular medium among bilingual Hispanics (Bayley 1993). This official acceptence of the mixed language improves its status and implies social acceptance of code switching (Jarman 1994).

CHAPTER 8

POLITICAL NEGLECT OF THE TORNE VALLEY CULTURE

Policies and attitudes

In order to understand the underlying reasons for Tornedalian social identity, we need to know the historical background, and also how the policy on minorities at the local, regional and national levels is linked to the traditions of the region. One outcome of the language policy is particular attitudes which have developed over at least a century and have been transmitted to later generations as a social heritage. They are implemented in action by individuals as well as in political ideology towards Tornedalians as a national minority.

If a minority places a low value on its local culture and language, this will be reflected in a low valuation of the minority by politicians at the local, regional and national levels. Politicians are dependent on attitudes, because they are elected by those whose attitudes they should reflect in ideology and action. The community reflects the politicians and the politicians reflect the community; they mirror each other's attitudes.

Thus if there is no reinforcement of a positive collective identity the result will be that the culture will be neglected at every level of society, although there need not be any obvious reason for these political attitudes. On the other hand, we can expect that if the policy at local, regional and national levels reinforces collective identity it will bring about a positive identity in the local community. Therefore we have a division of attitudes that separates the minority from the majority culture, attitudes which are often in direct opposition to each other. Tornedalians have taken on the positively reinforced identity of the majority and the negatively reinforced identity, established by the majority, of themselves. Tornedalians reflect both aspects, but the consequence is that they undervalue their own individual and collective identity and overvalue the identity of the majority; whereas the majority strengthens their collective identity by devaluing the minority group. These underlying national ideologies can be seen in the decisions and actions, based more on attitudes and less on reason, taken by politicians at every level of society.

Neglect at the local level

The social heritage of a subordinated minority subconsciously influences politicians in their aim of developing the culture and enterprise of the Torne Valley. During this century politicians in the Finnish-speaking municipalities have been indifferent or passive towards every change in language policy, or even strongly resistant to attempts to maintain Tornedalen Finnish culture (Tenerz 1963; Kenttä and Weinz 1968). Politicians with this policy probably tried to reflect public opinion. This opposition to encouragement of a positive collective identity was at one time frequently reflected in the local newspapers, in their policy in the editorial columns and through the letters to the

editor which were written mainly by leaders of society. In particular, in keeping with the collective denial of identity, the only newspaper written in Finnish, *Haaparannan lehti*, was one of the most opposed to the idea of promoting (Tornedalen) Finnish in schools. The political right wing, in Norrbotten represented by the newspapers *Haaparannan lehti* and *Norrbottens Kuriren*, was generally the most hostile; whereas the left wing, represented partly by the newspaper *Norrländska Social Demokraten*, was sometimes more liberal and generally took a neutral stance (Tenerz 1963:341).[1] Until 1940 this debate was thought of as a linguistic battle, but it ended when Finland fought against the then Soviet Union in the Second World War. Opinion even became positive towards Finnish during the war years (Tenerz 1963:349ff.).

The political indifference from the 1950s until today has not arisen from a neutral standpoint but from acceptance of the existing policy. As early as the 1910s it was noticed that youths on the Swedish side of the Torne Valley had a much lower involvement in organizations than youths on the Finnish side, despite better schooling among the Swedish Tornedalians (SOU 1921:376). Lack of literacy in Finnish was claimed to be the main reason for this passiveness. Jaakkola and Tenerz confirmed the notion 50 years later (Jaakkola 1969:108, 150; Tenerz 1963). Tornedalians became socialized to passivity and a withdrawn attitude towards participation in public political debate. Their feelings of linguistic inferiority thus caused lowered interest in being active in organizations because Swedish was the only accepted language. In practice it was often monolingual Swedish speakers with linguistically superior prestige who carried on the debate and official policy of the municipalities.

According to many Tornedalians who are active in the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, the most hostile attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish are held by monolingual Swedish-speaking politicians who work and live in the Finnish-speaking municipalities. The notion that monolingual Swedes possess higher prestige (Jaakkola 1969:129) confirms the belief that this experience is based on fact and not prejudice. However, Tornedalians in authority positions are also sometimes hostile towards Tornedalen Finnish and Standard Finnish.

The consequences of inherited attitudes and the majority perspective are evident when the politicians in Pajala municipality council, for instance, decide about future directions for the Torne Valley in their cultural policy.

Many Tornedalians now struggle for their right to be accepted and acknowledged as a cultural or national minority in Sweden, with the same advantages and financial support from government funds as the Sami; or at least entitlement to what many immigrants already have. Because of this discriminatory attitude, one proposal suggesting explicit support for the Sami and the Tornedalen Finnish cultures was made to Pajala municipality in 1991. The politicians in Pajala, however, did not accept such proposals. What about the Swedish-speaking culture and the Walloons (a group of steelworkers from Europe who came to Sweden in the seventeenth century who are completely assimilated), they asked; and are there not some Norwegians who need special support? It would be unfair to give benefits to just two groups and leave the rest out, they claimed. Any positive discrimination in favour of minorities and the native culture could not be accepted; equality should be the guideline. It was decided in 1992 that the cultural plan of Pajala municipality should support Torne Valley culture, a term which included the majority culture and all minorities, even Sami and Tornedalen Finnish

(according to a politician in Pajala municipality and Tornedalian activist). This decision is contrary to the Swedish government's policy under which the Sami have explicit support because they are regarded as an indigenous people in Sweden, and the overall movement in Europe for the rights of minorities (e.g. Horn 1994).

Similarly three delegations from the Torne Valley municipalities had earlier decided on placename signs. At the beginning of the 1980s discussion of placename signs arose, because the Swedish Tornedalians' Association wanted to have both Swedish and Finnish names on all signs and placenames on maps and along roads; that is to say every sign should use both names as they are used and pronounced. The politicians in Haparanda, Övertorneå and Pajala did not like the idea, and one of many reasons opposing such action was that it would prevent enterprise. Enterprising and clever people from the south of Sweden who had plans to establish businesses in the Torne Valley would fear such an area where even placenames were written in an incomprehensible language (according to Tornedalian activists).[2]

In northern Finland where local traditions are the most important tourist attraction, the tourist industry is probably much more developed and exploited than in the Torne Valley, despite it is to a large extent a similar culture — this was noticed as early as the 1950s (SOU 1958:187).

The same intention to annihilate Tornedalen Finnish culture is evident in the municipality's policy towards local radio broadcasts. Tornedalen Finnish radio programs have only about 30 per cent of the time that they should have if they were to receive the same opportunities as Sweden Finns have. Compared with the Sami the inequality is huge. The politicians are well aware of the unequal treatment, and know that employing ten producers in radio would provide jobs for a further five people in a municipality with a low population and high unemployment.

Unfortunately the situation is just as bad in other municipalities' policies on their own culture. For example, Gällivare municipality had the highest population of Finnish speakers in 1930 (Slunga 1965:21) and today has about 5000–10 000, but still support for the spoken culture is the lowest of all five municipalities where Finnish is spoken. Very few with a Gällivare Finnish background, for example, are active in the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, and the municipality had few pupils attending home language until the late 1980s. Furthermore the municipality appears to have a lower level of activity in amateur theatre, music and other artistic fields. This lower engagement in their culture is probably due to the fact that Gällivare Finnish possesses the lowest prestige and thus the highest level of denial of cultural identity. It is also reflected in the politicians' relative amount of work for the local culture. Politicians in Gällivare municipality are alleged to be the most indifferent or resistant towards supporting Tornedalen Finnish (Monica Johansson, orally). However if there is a correlation between the number of pupils attending home language instruction and cultural activity, it should mean that we can expect increased attention to the local culture in Gällivare in the future.

In Kiruna the principal employer is the mining company, LKAB. The employees are to a great extent Finnish-speaking Tornedalians or Finns. Earlier there was a common saying that Finnish is spoken in the galleries, whereas Swedish is only spoken on the ground, i.e. there is a social class distinction. However, recently the management has demanded that Finnish be prohibited on the internal radio system, due to the

fact that the central emergency service does not have bilingual competence (NSD 199702).

The linguistic minority and bilingualism are not even mentioned in the 1992 municipal plan in Matarenki (Övertorneå plan 1992). According to a local Tornedalian activist, new street names are created with the requirement that they must be Swedish, "neutral" and not have anything to do with the local culture. Signs in Finnish or Sami are consequently rejected. The street name *Birkarlavägen,* for example, was rejected — although it is a Swedish name — because it refers to tax collectors in the Middle Ages who were probably West Finns.

However, one municipality's politicians differ slightly from the general attitude. The politicians in Haparanda are now arguing that Haparanda municipality should be regarded as a bilingual area, and that official policy should support this idea (*Met-aviisi* 1993:4). Finnish is mentioned in the school curriculums of the four other Finnish-speaking municipalities, but Haparanda is the only municipality in Sweden which has given Finnish a special position in its school policy (Skolverket 1996).

However, a tendency for a slight change in attitude in other areas is evident. A few monolingual politicians are positive towards the latest request to acknowledge Tornedalen Finnish, but in general the municipalities' politicians are negative or indifferent. Övertorneå municipality officially gave positive support, and there is a political party in the district which is positive in public (*Met-aviisi* 2/1994). Pajala municipality argues that Tornedalians are an indigenous minority on a par with the Sami.[3] In Pajala municipality the villages with both a Swedish and a Finnish name will in future be marked with bilingual signs, in accordance with a suggestion from a Royal Commission on cultural heritage (SOU 1996:128, 217). The opinion in Pajala nowadays is perhaps the most positive towards Finnish, and there is constant progress. This slight but steadily growing change in politicians' attitudes and policy is without doubt a result of changed opinion. Nowadays some local politicians "dare" to support the local culture.

Sweden's entry into the EU has also changed attitudes towards the culture. It is now an economic advantage to be more supportive of the local language and culture in order to exploit the funds from EU's Leader II and Inter-reg funds. For instance Övertorneå municipality mentions the local language and culture as important factors to develop and reinforce in the Leader II plan for Eastern Norrbotten (LAG Östra Norrbotten 1995).

What is rejected, denied and neglected at the local level is reflected as absence at the county level. When the County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen) carried out an investigation of what was needed to improve and develop tourism and industry in the county, the study managed not to mention that the county has two minority languages (Länsstyrelsen 1995). In addition, it neglected to discuss and stress the fact that cultural tourism could benefit the Sami- and Finnish-speaking municipalities and the minority languages, even though the booklet discusses the benefits of a varied culture. Despite the fact that cross-national contacts are stressed it does not suggest any ideas on how to maintain multilingualism in an ancient bilingual area. This, however, is also an old tradition. In a broad and extensive study of employment, health care, social problems, etc., conducted by the County Administrative Board there was not even the slightest attempt to use the minority position as a tool to explain the higher than average social

and economic problems in Norrbotten (Håkansson 1978), although another similar study mentions social inferiority as a result of the language policy (Öström 1978:41).

Even at the county level, however, a small change in attitudes is emerging. The County Council argued in one study in the late 1980s that the culture of the Torne Valley is unique and should be promoted (Henriksson 1989). The language aspect was nevertheless not discussed, but mentioned and briefly stressed in a cultural plan for the County Council in 1994 (KFNF 1994). Furthermore, the first proposal to acknowledge Sami and Tornedal Finnish as minority languages was put on the agenda of the County Administrative Board in 1995. Another indication of a change in attitudes is the fact that when the County Council of Norrbotten responded to a Royal Commission on culture it requested that the minority culture of the Torne Valley should be on a par with the Sami culture (DS 1996:23, 79–80).

The intention to support the local culture, however, has not led to a visible change in policy. The County Council of Norrbotten's investment in education and culture is almost the lowest of all county councils in Sweden, often second or third lowest (SÅL 1995; DN 27-10-95).[4]

Neglect at the national level

Royal Commissions on Torne Valley issues

The attitudes of the Swedish Parliament have been reflected in the type and number of Royal Commissions on Torne Valley issues.

Monolingual politicians, priests and especially teachers had the most hostile attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish during the first part of the twentieth century (Tenerz 1963:e.g. 347–8). The attitude of monolinguals in general, however, has not changed from the earlier standpoint. In particular this is easily detected in the work of the few Royal Commissions which have been appointed to investigate particular conditions in the region. The first investigation of the Torne Valley since 1921, a Commission appointed by the government with the aim of suggesting ways to improve employment, submitted its report in 1960 (SOU 1960). The Commission only mentioned once that the inhabitants in the area under investigation speak Finnish and Sami in the northernmost parts, and that this situation was one reason why schooling was more expensive in these municipalities (SOU 1960:125). Finnish and Sami were mere problems. The report concluded that the Tourism Association of Norrbotten had not even done any advertizing of the area in order to attract tourists. The official reason for this was that the area lacked the most basic tourist facilities and was thus not service minded (SOU 1958:187). To improve the tourist industry the report made a number of suggestions: the environment, reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, etc., are all important tourist attractions; but there was scarcely a word of a different culture which could be attractive for tourists who want to see something different from their own environment. Negative attitudes were reflected in some statements, e.g. by the Pajala district police superintendent who was given the opportunity to contribute to the investigation. He wrote that Tornedalians "sponge upon the rest of the nation", "lack initative", "are indolent" due to the subsidies, and should move to southern Sweden (SOU 1960:174, 182).

The tradition continued in another investigation by the government. Monolingual Swedes were employed in 1988 to document the conditions in Norrbotten in order to make suggestions which could improve the tourist industry of the county. In a 316 page report they did not even mention the (Tornedalen) Finnish culture, despite a short paragraph on the Sami-speaking minority in Norrbotten who could contribute to the image of Norrbotten as an attractive county for tourists. They concluded that southerners in general did not associate Norrbotten with anything other than nature, but did not themselves try to change that attitude by describing the actual situation and its possibilities (SOU 1990:103).

Apart from the Commission in 1921 (SOU 1921) and some chapters in a report by another Commission (SOU 1983:57), these investigations were the only ones to consider language issues in the Torne Valley. The Commission of 1921 focused attention on the bilingual problem, but since then no investigation has been carried out with the aim of mapping the particular culture of the Torne Valley, apart from one study by the Board of Education (Kenttä and Weinz 1968). Compared with the interest in other minorities, the discrimination is obvious. A number of Royal Commissions have studied Sami issues (e.g. SOU 1960:41; 1975:99, 100; 1989:41; 1990:84), and Romanies have been studied at least once (SOU 1956:43) but a few times by the National Agency for Education and the Board of Immigration. The situation of immigrants has been studied a number of times (SOU 1974:69, 70; 1983:57; 1984:58, and in 1996 and 1997). The reason for this neglect must be sought in the particular policy of the Swedish Parliament towards Tornedalians.

Torne Valley culture defined by the Swedish Parliament

The culture of the Torne Valley has been defined by the Swedish Parliament on several occasions.

Some 246 motions touching upon minority and immigrant issues were put to the parliament between 1945 and 1974. None of them reflected the status or situation of Swedish Tornedalians in particular, despite a number of very emphatic motions concerning some immigrant groups. Estonians, for instance, were the focus of a number of motions demanding support, development and encouragement for their culture and language. In 1953 Romany issues were the subject of one motion which demanded equal rights for Romanies in Sweden. Immediately a Royal Commission on Romany culture was appointed. It submitted its report in 1956 (SOU 1956:43). This was one year before the library in Matarenki was allowed to keep books in Finnish, and many decades after a number of travelling libraries were probably prohibited from keeping Finnish literature. During this period at least four Finnish-speaking Tornedalians represented Norrbotten in the parliament. They remained passive and indifferent on minority issues (SOU 1974:70).

The late 1960s was the period when immigration and minority issues were recognized by the state. The first attempts to devise an immigration and minority policy were initiated by the government as early as 1961, when a Royal Commission was appointed to propose reformulation of the Aliens' Act. The work took a long time and resulted in at least two government bills (Prop 1968:142, 1969:53). In the mid 1960s representatives of the Sami, Jews and Sweden Finns demanded an investigation into

the minority situation. The Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions raised the same idea in 1967 (Schwarz 1971:26; SOU 1974:69). In 1966 a Royal Commission presented its report on Swedish citizens' schooling abroad, but it also had instructions to investigate immigrants' problems in schooling in Sweden. It proposed that minority languages should be allowed in education, but only for Estonians, and the English-, French- and German-speaking groups (SOU 1966:55, 255–6). Sami are briefly mentioned as a minority with some particular rights, whereas Tornedalians are only mentioned as numbering 40 000. Apart from this statement there is no reference to them. However, this Commission's report laid the foundation for the home language reform.

Typical features of the Swedish policy on minorities have been the traditional strong neglect of national minorities and sensitivity to the work of immigrant associations in improving the rights of immigrants. The first motion with a request to investigate the situation of immigrants was written in 1967, but it did not even mention national minorities (Björk and Hansson 1967). In 1968 Nils-Erik Hansegård published his ideas on semilingualism and showed how the Swedicization policy in the Torne Valley had had an effect on the biggest native minority in Sweden. His book produced a massive debate in the media and focused attention on minorities in general. This led to a progressive interest among the political parties who started to discuss minority and immigration issues (Widgren 1982:60, 89). For the first time since the Second World War requests to investigate the conditions of national minorities were raised in 1968 (e.g. Holmberg et al. 1968:31; Jönsson 1968:936; cf. Borevi 1994). At that time the only bilingual members of the parliament were from Norrbotten — Lennart Wanhainen from Pajala and Ragnar Lassinantti from Pello. They remained passive on minority issues, despite the fact that they were probably the only people in the parliament with personal experience of being part of a minority.[5]

Tornedalians have for a long time been seemingly fairly represented in the Swedish Parliament in proportion to their numbers, at least since the Second World War. Tornedalians have in fact sometimes had an overrepresentation of Finnish-speaking members of the parliament. In the early 1960s two members of the parliament could speak Finnish, and three were from the Torne Valley: Jakob Grym from Svanstein, Ragnar Lassinantti from Pello, and Harald Larsson from Hietaniemi-Hedenäset. Larsson was monolingual but lived in the bilingual area. Since the late 1950s there have usually been two Tornedalians members of the parliament. During the 1960s the Tornedalian members proposed a number of motions on the linguistic situation in the Torne Valley; this was perhaps the greatest interest shown in considering bilingual issues. However, their concern was not the problem with lack of education in Finnish, but the poor results of the Swedicization policy. They had noticed that Tornedalians were less successful in school than the average Swedish pupil and demanded improved instruction in Swedish (e.g. Larsson et al. 1965). Ragnar Lassinantti, the Social Democrat member of the Swedish Parliament who was later appointed county governor of Norrbotten, proposed motions requesting expansion of the Department of Finnish at Uppsala University. The spoken language of his home village was never given any consideration (e.g. SOU 1974:70). Those who attempted to defend the right of Tornedalians to be bilingual were monolingual politicians living in southern Sweden (Schwarz 1971:103). The argument against such policy was that Tornedalians themselves wanted to have instruction only in Swedish. Despite this, 86 per cent of the

members of the Swedish Parliament in 1968 were more or less positive towards bilingual education in the first grades for Tornedalian Finns (Schwarz 1968:19). Furthermore, in a questionnaire in 1968 about 48 per cent of the members of the Swedish Parliament were positive towards inscribing in the constitution protection for national minorities such as Jews, Sami and Tornedalian Finns (Schwarz 1968:19).

In 1968 the government appointed a Royal Commission on Immigration. Even at this stage it was decided that indigenous minorities did not warrant any particular investigation. The Sami, Jews and Estonians protested against this (Schwarz 1971:24), but the Tornedalians remained silent. The Commission on Immigration finished its work in 1974 and its proposals laid the foundation for the Swedish immigration and minority policy (SOU 1974:69, 70). In this investigation Tornedalians belonged to the category of immigrants and minorities, although loosely defined and described. The government maintained even in the early 1970s that immigrant and minority policy could not be separated. This position can only be explained by studying the relation between Sweden Finns and Tornedalians. There is only one language group which could be understood as both immigrants and a national minority, namely the Tornedalians and Sweden Finns. These two groups were treated as one (Petrén 1975), and thus the autochthonous minority could not be separated from the immigrants. Therefore Tornedalian Finns could not have any linguistic rights separate from Sweden Finns.

Despite this confusion in the policy on minorities, when the Swedish government discussed the famous UN article 27 on minority rights in 1971, it stated in one line that Sweden had no minority problems (Prop 1971:125, 39).

The Sami quickly gained a different status and were in practice acknowledged as a minority in 1970 (Prop 1975:26; Widgren 1982:16); for instance, the Nordic Sami Institute in Kautokeino, Norway, was founded in 1973 by the Nordic Ministers Council (*Nordiska ministerrådet*) (Lasko 1991:60). Sami issues were therefore treated in a separate investigation. The Tornedalian members of the parliament were nevertheless still completely passive and indifferent on minority issues. The only concern was one motion in 1970 which contained a request to avoid the discontinuation of the teacher training college in Haparanda as this would cause more unemployment. The proposal requested an investigation into whether the college could educate Swedish-speaking monolingual students to be competent to instruct in Finnish for Finnish immigrants (Berglund et al: 1970). It was an urgent and obvious right for Finnish immigrants to receive instruction in Finnish; but there was not a word about Swedish Tornedalians and a complete lack of knowledge of the earlier history of the college in Haparanda.

The interest in minority issues grew slowly. In 1975 a motion proposed for the first time that being able to speak Finnish should be given extra credit in every appointment all over the country (Nilsson et al. 1975:948). This meant that bilingualism should be an advantage in public appointments, and not a disadvantage as it was in practice. The motion was rejected, but the proposal raised new interest in a number of motions a decade later (e.g. Svensson 1986–87:Ub289, 1986–87:Ub830).

In the 1970s a new minority policy emerged under pressure from powerful immigrant associations and from a general movement for the rights of minorities all over the Western world. A government bill in 1974 stated that the cultural policy should be designed with respect to disadvantaged groups' experiences and needs (Prop 1974:28).

In 1975 the immigration and minority policy was accepted by the Swedish Parliament with the intention that it should work for equality, freedom of choice and partnership (Prop 1975:26). This policy, and the emerging debate on neglected minorities, led in 1976 to a regulation which stated that a government authority should be responsible for immigrants and linguistic minorities. This authority should pay attention to particular measures which might be needed for these groups (SFS 1976:310). One such measure was to establish an immigration council (*invandrarråd*) which worked in close contact with the Swedish Immigration Board. The representatives were to be from immigrant groups and linguistic minorities (Prop 1975:26, 84). In the same year, 1976, the rights of minorities were written into the constitution where it was stated that "the rights of ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to maintain and develop their own culture and society should be promoted" (1 kap. 2 p. RF). The constitution does not describe the rights of the minorities but the duties of government authorities. This is an important difference, because it means that passive resistance by the authorities is not in accord with the law.

The new immigration and minority policy did not have any effect on Tornedalians at first. Sami issues were already strongly debated and one Commission on Sami culture was appointed and submitted its report in 1975 (SOU 1975). The Commission on Immigration described the situation of the Tornedalians only very briefly. Furthermore, it is telling to read the modern history of Swedish immigration written by the most eminent political administrator on the issue, Jonas Widgren. The first edition was published in 1980. In the introduction he defines the oldest immigrants and minorities in Sweden: Sami (an indigenous population), Jews, Germans, Finns already basically assimilated in southern Sweden, and completely assimilated Walloons and Scots (Widgren 1982); not a word on Finnish-speaking Tornedalians (or Romanies). However, in the book he still mentions them twice as an indigenous minority, but puts them into the same category as Sweden Finns (Widgren 1982:34, 79). This confusion of two distinct groups was probably the result of the lobbying by Sweden Finnish associations and was reflected in the parlament's idea that immigrant policy could not be separated from minority policy. Widgren's ideas had a strong influence on the immigration and minority policy of the Swedish Parliament.

However, in 1981 when the Swedish Tornedalians' Association was founded, new interest was taken in the term "minority" among local Tornedalians; and in the mid 1980s a sudden increase of interest in the Torne Valley culture emerged even among some members of the parliament. Motions to the Swedish Parliament, with proposals by Tornedalians to support and develop the Torne Valley culture, had been debated at least eleven times in the culture and education committees of the parliament since the previous decade (e.g. Poromaa et al. 1984–85:1305; Lestander 1986–87:Kr 204; Poromaa 1986–87:Kr 224, 1988–89:Kr 278, 89–90:Kr 289, 89–90:Kr 331, 90–91:Kr 319, 1990–91:Ub687; Poromaa and Hedkvist Petersen 1992–93:Kr 235; Bergdahl 1992–93:Kr 236; Kero 1994). The motions were written by members of three different parties from Norrbotten: the former Communist Party (*VPK*), Social Democrats, and Liberals (*Folkpartiet*). The Social Democrat member, Bruno Poromaa, a Finnish-speaking Tornedalian from Kiruna municipality, had been the most active. The first motion by Poromaa was a proposal to appoint a public records researcher with competence in Finnish. This was because the Sami language already had a researcher, and a

monolingual could not do research on Finnish archival material and Finnish placenames. The motion was backed by party members from Norrbotten. None of the other motions had been backed by any party or party members of a committee, i.e. they had not gained status as a party bill or party committee bill, and the majority of members of the parliament from Norrbotten had been passive or indifferent. In fact Poromaa, who represented the Social Democrats and therefore had the highest number of party colleagues from Norrbotten, had only once been supported by one member, Ewa Hedkvist Petersen, on the issue of Tornedalen Finnish. None of the few Sweden Finns who were members of the parliament supported any of the motions touching on the Finnish-speaking culture in the Torne Valley.

The first motion directly considering Torne Valley issues was written by Poromaa in 1984 (Poromaa et al. 1984–85:1305). The next motions were written in 1986 by Poromaa and Lestander, i.e. just a few years after the Swedish Tornedalians' Association had been established and focused attention on the mistreatment of the Tornedalians. The motions demanded that Tornedalians should be acknowledged as an ethnic or cultural minority and have the same support as the Sami. The parliament's ignorance of the situation in the Torne Valley had caused the public to confuse Tornedalians with Finnish immigrants. In fact, even the Royal Commission on Immigration confused them with other groups. When the situation of immigrants in Sweden was investigated, Tornedalians were confused with the Sami: "the indigenous Sami- and Finnish-speaking population." However, the same Royal Commission put Tornedalians into the same group as Sweden Finns when calculating the number and type of existing immigrant organizations in Sweden (SOU 1974:69, 183; 1974:70).[6]

The member of the Communist Party, Paul Lestander, even proposed an investigation of the situation and recommended that the government should appoint a professor and establish a department of Tornedalen Finnish at Luleå High School of Technology, now the Luleå Technical University (Lestander 1986–87). Bruno Poromaa argued that immigrant organizations had a better position than the Swedish Tornedalians' Association (Poromaa 1990–91:Kr 319). These motions insisted that the government should acknowledge the Swedish Tornedalians' Association as a domestic cultural minority organization and that the Association and Academia Tornedaliensis should be given economic support for their activities — the term "ethnic minority" had been toned down. The support could be in the form of funds for the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, Academia Tornedaliensis and the local radio station; but it could also ensure that the culture of the Torne Valley would be represented in national institutions such as the archives, and that placenames would be given in their original language.

In one motion by a Tornedalian liberal member of the parliament it was proposed that the local radio station in Pajala should have more support in order to increase the number of hours of Tornedalen Finnish broadcasting (Bergdahl 1992–93). The proposer of the motion claimed that the Sami had 12 000 listeners and about 20 producers. The local radio in Pajala had one producer in 1992 and 50 000–60 000 listeners. The culture committee rejected the motion by arguing that it was an issue for the Swedish National Radio.

Even some monolingual members of the parliament made some minor attempts to support Tornedalian issues. Their interest was awakened in the 1980s. One motion proposed increased economic support for the bilingual newspaper *Haparandabladet*

(Holmkvist 1988–89). Another motion suggested that medical training at Umeå University should promote students with competence in Finnish and Sami (Orring and Ångström 1987–88; Orring 1989–90) as this would better serve the needs of patients. The motions were rejected.

In the early 1980s the Communist Party had been the only party actively working on minority issues by putting motions to the parliament. A number of these motions proposed economic support for linguistic minorities (e.g. Werner et al. 1980–81, 1981–82, 1982–83, 1983–84). These motions were primarily aimed at supporting immigrant organizations but were rejected by the non-Socialist coalition and Social Democratic governments.

Perhaps the most persistent monolingual individual proponent of Torne Valley issues has been a Centre Party member, Alf Svensson. He proposed at least four motions regarding Finnish and its status. The motions proposed that Finnish should be taken into consideration in every public appointment and that Tornedalians should have voluntary education in Finnish at junior and intermediate levels in primary school (Svensson 1985–86:Ub832, 1985–86:A808, 1986–87:Ub223, 1986–87:Ub829). The motions were largely rejected. Furthermore, this member of the parliament realized at an early stage that the Swedish immigration and minority policy should be handled by two different authorities.

These kinds of motions were discussed within the culture and education committees. All in all the culture committee discussed the Torne Valley culture issue at least five times and the education committee at least four times. The most important motions for Tornedalians were dealt with by the culture committee. The attitude to several of the motions was positive in the culture committee's reports. The committee concluded that it was urgently important to support the culture of the Torne Valley. It noted that the discrimination ombudsman supported the Swedish Tornedalians' Association's claim that Tornedalians should be defined as an ethnic minority (Kulturutskottets betänkande 1992–93:KrU3).

However, the committee nevertheless recommend rejection of every proposal to regard Tornedalians as a cultural or ethnic minority, or to suggest special economic support for the Swedish Tornedalians' Association. In the most recent report the committee referred to research on minorities which claimed that Tornedalians can be defined as an "original native population". From this it follows that Tornedalians are no more a minority than inhabitants of Stockholm, for example, as all original Swedes are an "original native population" (RD 1991–92:no. 38, 41; Kulturutskottets betänkande 1993–94:KrU6). In spite of this, the term "minority" was used to describe the Tornedalians in a number of fields, even by the committee in question.

The Centre for Multi-ethnic Research at Uppsala University has in fact really excluded Tornedalians from the term "minority", because a representative of the institution and an anthropologist regard the Sami as the biggest minority and the only autochthonous [sic] minority in Sweden (Beach 1989; Borevi 1994). This standpoint has no basis in international conventions for minority rights. The researchers produced a definition of their own, without placing it in its international context.

The committee used a new definition of a minority, despite its obscure reference to minority research. This definition of Tornedalians is solely based on political values

and attitudes. Thus the protection of minorities written into the constitution would not include or refer to Tornedalians, only Sami and immigrants.

The other definition established by the Royal Commission on Immigration and used in several government bills was that there is no clear distinction between the words "immigrant" and "minority" in immigrant and minority policy; they belong to the same entity (Prop 1985–86:98, 125). In fact Swedish minority policy has often not distinguished between indigenous people, national minorities and immigrants (Spiliopoulou 1994:80). The Commission's definition follows a tradition started in 1975 when it was stated that the concept of a linguistic minority included recent immigrants as well as established minorities (Prop 1975:26, 16). In 1984 a Royal Commission on Immigration stated that the word "minority" in Sweden has expanded to include immigrants (SOU 1984:58).

In 1985–86 the term "minority" was excluded from the policy. One clear statement was that Sweden has only two minorities: Sami and Tornedalians (Prop 1985–86:98, 17). This was a definition based on a United Nations convention (SOU 1990:91, 94) and in keeping with international contexts (e.g. Myntti 1990). From 1986 onwards the term "minority" was abandoned and the parliament had only an immigrant and refugee policy to follow. Thus Tornedalians were no longer covered by the immigrant and minority policy, and there was no other minority policy to rely upon. However, nearly every regulation on immigration and minorities is based on the idea that Tornedalians belong to this group. Thus, when the government writes bills touching upon minority issues but using the word "immigrant" it includes minorities to some extent. Otherwise groups such as Romanies, Jews and Estonians would be excluded from the definition, because they can be third, fourth or later generation immigrants. If it were not so the rights for minorities written into the constitution would be of no value.

The former Communist Party protested against the new direction in 1985–86 (Werner et al. 1985–86:342). The motion was rejected. An individual member of the Centre Party also tried to influence the minority policy of the parliament. The neglected status of and support for national minorities has therefore caused debate through a number of motions proposed by a monolingual member of the parliament who wants to separate immigration issues from domestic minority issues. He noted the changed policy in 1985 and suggested that these two issues should be administered by two different authorities and requested guidelines for the minority policy (Svensson 1985–86:Sf520, 1986–87:Ub830, 1987–88:Sf540). His motions were rejected, and he was never backed by other members of the parliament or by his party.

However, even in the parliament a change in attitudes is emerging. The response from the culture committee of 1995 to a motion on minority needs no longer defines Tornedalians as a native population, but mentions that the minister for agriculture has termed them a native minority. Despite this the parliament rejected the motion on economic support for the Swedish Tornedalians' Association and referred to the ongoing Minority Commission (Kulturutskottets betänkande 1995–96:KrU3). In 1996 a second Minority Commission was appointed.

The change in approach is most visible among the liberals who in a motion in 1996–97, signed by their party leader, requested that the parliament should have a positive attitude towards the idea of Sweden Finnish associations establishing a Swedish–Finnish parliament (Holmberg 1996–97).

Economic support for immigrant and minority organizations

Terms such as "ethnic" and "minority" have no factual meaning if they are not put into a network of special rights belonging only to these groups. When a minority receives any form of special economic support the word "minority" gains significance. This is positive discrimination. Until that moment the word is just a label without any particular significance for the government, besides the avoidance of active repression of the minority. The terms became important with the home language reform and economic support for minority organizations.

It is from this perspective that we can understand the culture and education committees' treatment of motions regarding Tornedalians as a minority. The culture committee defended the Swedish government's rejection of economic support with examples of how the Tornedalians already received economic support for their magazine *Met-aviisi* and some support for publishing books on Torne Valley culture such as the dictionary of Tornedalen Finnish, and for smaller projects carried out in the area (Kulturutskottets betänkande KrU 1987–88:4, 1989–90:KrU8, 1990–91:KrU3, 1991–92:KrU8, 1993–94:KrU6). The total of these types of economic support can be counted in some tens of thousands and is mainly common economic support which every cultural organization or Swedish citizen can get. The magazine *Met-aviisi* received up to 50 000 krona/year in support from the National Culture Council. However, even this support was abolished in 1994 (SK 1994-06-16). The Swedish Tornedalians' Association was given 15 000 krona/year for publishing books. In 1994 a few books were printed with this support. The County Council has supported the Swedish Tornedalians' Association since 1994 with 100 000 krona annually at present. The Tornedalian theatre, ToTe, also received grants from the County Council for theatre projects. The County Administrative Board has never supported the Swedish Tornedalians' Association. Övertorneå municipality supports the Association with 32 000 krona/year. Some thousands are given by cultural funds promoting Finnish language and culture. All in all about 150 000 krona in 1996 from the government, the county and the municipalities went to the activities of the Association. For smaller special projects, such as printing costs for children's books in Tornedalen Finnish, economic support is given by the government. In addition, three people have public relief work in the organization of the Association, paid for by the Swedish Labour Market Board (Göta Andersson, orally). This support is common in community organizations during times when unemployment is high. For instance, even in 1983 more than 50 per cent of all staff in immigrant associations were employed as public relief workers, e.g. the Sweden Finnish organization had a total of 23 people employed by the central office (SOU 1984:58, 296).

It would be remarkable if Tornedalians as Swedish citizens did not have the right to apply for support from these general funds. The support for the library in Matarenki, however, is specific. The library receives about 220 000 krona/year as a special institution with the purpose of keeping books written about the northern parts of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia. Furthermore the support for publishing books in Tornedalen Finnish is probably special support for a minority language.

The policy of the Swedish Parliament towards Tornedalians is nevertheless strongly influenced by the former assimilation policy. Otherwise it is not possible to interpret

its contradictory and inconsistent attitude in relation to other national minorities and immigrants. For example, we can compare cultural support for other similar associations. In 1974 the Commission on Immigration proposed that special political measures directed towards different minority organizations were warranted. The Commission suggested that "direct national contributions go to immigrant and minority organizations" and "to organizations whose activity embraces the whole country, or if the group in question has a concentrated settlement in regions where the majority of the members live" (SOU 1974:69, 289). In order to evaluate the consequences of such a contribution the Commission investigated the possible number of organizations and minorities in Sweden. Among them were the Swedish Tornedalians who were said to lack any national interest organization. Their local associations were put into the same category as the local associations for Sweden Finns. Among the minority groups Sami were excluded because of their special position, but all the larger immigrant groups and cultural, religious and ethnic minorities such as Jews and Romanies were included. The Commission concluded that "support [was needed] for the ethnic press and comprehensive support for theatrical activities on behalf of linguistic minorities in Sweden (above all for the Finnish-speaking population)" (SOU 1975:69).

The report of the Royal Commission went to the government who wrote a bill which in all essential matters followed the report of the Commission. It was put into practice in 1975 (Prop 1975:26; Widgren 1982:144; SIF 1988). The rules for economic support to immigrant and minority organizations became based on the government's bill of 1975. However, no official regulations were written before 1986. Thus from 1975 onward the government supported immigrant and minority organizations, but the first official regulation was written after the government's bill of 1985–86. The new regulation was put into practice in 1986 (SFS 1986:472; minor change in SFS 1990:891). Still the bill of 1975 stated clearly that a native minority was included for possible economic support, although a new tradition emerged where the word "minority" was excluded, even from the title of the bill of 1985–86 as well as from the regulation (cf. Prop 1975:26, 23, 1984–85:141, 43, 1985–86:98, 134). From 1985 onward one may infer that the Swedish minorities were implicitly included in the term "immigrants".

The Ministry of Culture distributes this economic support for national immigrant associations, such as the National Associations of Finns in Sweden, which in 1993–94 received 1.44 million krona; the Association of Finnish-Swedes in Sweden which received 723 000 krona; and smaller organizations such as the Ingermanland Association which received 278 000 krona. A total of 14 315 000 krona for the organizations and 7 000 000 krona for particular projects was distributed from this fund in 1994. Furthermore the National Associations of Finns for young people received 1 300 000 krona from the government in 1993–94 (DS 1994:97). In addition, the Sweden Finns received 743 000 krona/year for the budget year 1994–95 for a Swedish–Finnish Language Committee — which according to its recent obligations was to work for all Finnish languages in Sweden, including Tornedalen Finnish (DS 1994:97). Its work for Tornedalen Finnish is nevertheless completely non-existent. The Language Committee was founded in 1976. All in all about 32 minority organizations receive economic support from the Ministry of Culture.

The Swedish Tornedalians' Association has about 2000 members, and some 5000 members in its function as an umbrella organization, but is naturally not acknowledged as a national immigrant association. Thus it has no right to any cultural support from this particular fund, despite the fact that the preceding investigations and proposals included them in the minority group category. The Swedish Tornedalians' Association applied for grants in 1989 but was rejected (STR-T 1989-09-20, 1989-12-08; SI 90-09-26). Then the Swedish Tornedalians' Association thought that it would perhaps qualify as a popular movement for adult education and applied under this label for support from the National Culture Council. It was rejected twice (SK 1989-03-28, 1990-03-05). Then the Association turned to the Discrimination Ombudsman, and maintained that the official institutions of the government were violating the constitution when they rejected its applications for cultural support (STR-T 1990-02-13). The ombudsman turned down the question by "misunderstanding" the problem and maintaining that he was not an appeal authority for rejected applications; but he did term Tornedalians an ethnic minority (DO 1990-02-27). A recent very modest application for economic support for particular loosely defined projects was sent to the Ministry of Public Administration (STR-T 94-07-20). It was rejected (CD 94-08-26).

The above mentioned numbers indicate only part of the government's economic support. Other aid for activities such as book publishing and theatre is not included but would probably show even greater differences (cf. FIS 1993). For instance, the Swedish–Finnish organization runs an archive for Sweden Finns and Finnish Swedes in Sweden (DS 1994:97). At the local level there is a variety of funds.

Tornedalians are yet not accepted as a national minority by the culture committee. Thus the committee has a third definition of a minority which is inconsistent with part of the government's official standpoint. This resistance to accepting Tornedalians as a linguistic and ethnic minority, despite a number of positive statements in government bills, can seemingly only be interpreted as discrimination by the committee against Tornedalians and failure to follow the constitution. It can be interpreted as the Swedish Parliament violating the constitution.

In contrast to the policy of the culture committee of the Swedish Parliament, as early as 1983 the Royal Commission on Linguistic and Cultural Heritage suggested that the Swedish Tornedalians' Association should be an advisory body to which proposed measures could be referred for consideration. This would include every measure that touches on the linguistic issues of the Torne Valley and other school issues which are regarded as important by the Association (SOU 1983:57, 256). This should indicate an acceptance of the demand by the Association that they represent Tornedalians on cultural issues. However, the suggestion was ignored. Furthermore, the same Royal Commission proposed that Tornedalen Finnish should be regarded as a variety of Standard Finnish. This standpoint affects other support. One consequence is that Tornedalians have never had a representative on the immigration council which is in close contact with the Immigration Board and thus influences economic support to immigrant and minority organizations. According to the original rules linguistic minorities should be represented on the council (Prop 1975:26). It is probable that representatives of the Sweden Finns have represented Tornedalians on this council.

Contradictory and inconsistent "minority" policy

The Swedish government has in fact unofficially acknowledged Tornedalians as an autochthonous or linguistic minority in several ways, such as in the text of two government bills (Prop 1975:26, 14; 1985–86:98, 17), in at least one Royal Commission (SOU 1974:6[illegible] special school support for domestic minorities, and by inviting a Tornedalian to represent Swedish indigenous/autochthonous minorities at a European security conference held in Geneva in 1991.

Sami and Tornedalians are in fact officially acknowledged by the Swedish government in a document to the Council of Europe in which European minorities are defined (Council of Europe 1995). However, the Tornedalian community was described in three lines, whereas Sami culture had three pages.

In addition, Romanies, Sami and Tornedalians are all acknowledged in one way: they have special rights to demand home language instruction, due to their alleged unique minority position in Sweden.

The position of the government has therefore been inconsistent, contradictory and discriminatory towards Tornedalians. This is partly due to the fact that the political representatives of the Torne Valley, with a few exceptions, have been and are mainly negative towards the definition of Tornedalians as a minority. For them the term "minority" has negative associations. Most of the members of the parliament from Norrbotten have supported this negative attitude through their indifference and passiveness, although a more positive approach is nowadays rapidly emerging.

Sweden Finns want to be acknowledged as a linguistic minority in Sweden, despite the fact that according to international definitions they are seemingly defined as an immigrant group. In spite of — or probably because of — this fact, every motion to the parliament in 1994 touching upon the status of Finnish did not separate Tornedalen Finnish from Standard Finnish, or Tornedalians from Finnish immigrants (Bohlin and Vallius 1994–95; Carlgren et al. 1994–95; Davidson 1994–95). Those members of the parliament who have a Sweden Finnish background have stressed the importance in a number of motions of acknowledging Finnish as a domestic minority language, partly because of old traditions and partly because it is in fact the actual situation. The Finnish spoken in the Torne Valley is always given as evidence of ancient Finnish settlement (e.g. Tammenoksa 1990–91; Rulander 1991–92). Thus the motions written by these members of the parliament do not make a distinction between an autochthonous minority and Finnish "immigrant" groups. In addition, Tornedalians are not even mentioned as a separate group. This position has no social basis and must therefore be based on political and ideological reasons. Furthermore, in every attempt to support the particular issues concerning the Torne Valley the members of the parliament who can speak Standard Finnish have been passive and indifferent.

Today only the Sami have gained the status of an indigenous minority and are for this reason assured of special economic support, which in 1993–94 was to be 10.5 million krona from one source, including research funds (Kulturutskottets betänkande 1993–94:KrU19). Relatively good support is also given in media broadcasting. Tornedalians are treated by the authorities in general as if they were equal members of Swedish society, despite the former language policy and their different home language. In the government bills they are sometimes mentioned as one of the two native mi-

norities. However, some members of the parliament treat them as equivalent to Finnish immigrants, but the Immigration Board treats them as non-immigrants.

However, in international legislation and debate there is often a distinction made between indigenous people and national or autochthonous minorities (Gayim and Myntti 1995). The term "indigenous people" often has a stronger judicial position in international law than undefined groups of national minorities. Often peoples who are defined as indigenous populations avoid the weaker term "minority"; they regard themselves as "more than a minority" (Thornberry 1995:64). Swedish minority policy has acknowledged the Sami as an indigenous people, but the legislation has not explicitly distinguished between a minority and an indigenous population. For instance, the constitution does not mention any rights for indigenous people. Sami are sometimes defined as indigenous people and sometimes as a minority (Beach 1995).

A resolution by the Ministry of Education proposed that Finnish should have a special position in Swedish society, and suggests some changes in the language policy such that all levels of society should consider the special status of Finnish, but does not propose that Finns should be regarded as a national minority (Rskr 1994–95:1; DS 1994:97; Utbildningsutskottets betänkande 1994–95:UbU4). The resolution was adopted by the Swedish Parliament in December 1994. Its most obvious feature is that Tornedalians and Finns living in Sweden are regarded as one unit from a historical perspective. But when today's situation for the Finnish language is described, Tornedalen Finnish, the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, Tornedalians, Tornedalian authors, amateur theatre, musicians, etc., are completely ignored and excluded; and Tornedalians are still put into the same group as Finnish immigrants. A large amount of effort is wasted on defining the activity of Sweden Finns. The ignorant reader gains the impression that there is only one Finnish-speaking group in Sweden, and not two groups with diametrically different historical backgrounds.

Even neutral researchers have noticed that the resolution does not separate Tornedalians from Sweden Finns (Spiliopoulou 1995). Furthermore, the educated reader can get the impression that the Sweden Finns aim to be acknowledged as a legal minority and Tornedalians would be excluded once again. Then Sweden Finns and Sami would be minorities in Sweden, whereas Tornedalians would still be neither a minority nor immigrants.

However, the Finnish language has had a special position in Sweden since 1967 when the Finnish–Swedish Council of Education was set up (Skolverket 1993). The Royal Commission on Language and Cultural Heritage (SOU 1983:57) stressed the special status of Finnish in Sweden. In 1985 this unclear and undefined special status was strengthened (Virta 1994:39). This followed the 1984 granting of special rights to Sweden Finns to start Finnish classes with bilingual education up to grades 7–9. In 1985 pedagogical development units for Finnish pupils, so called PUFF (*pedagogiskt utvecklingsarbete för finskan*) activity, were set up (Eriksson 1994:22). In addition, Sweden Finnish has been accepted as a special Finnish with its own vocabulary. Therefore it has for a long time been given special economic support for a Language Committee whose purpose is to create new terms for the Swedish words which have no counterpart in Finnish society. This particular position was strengthened with the directive of the Swedish Parliament whereby Sweden Finns gained extended opportunities to establish bilingual schools and special education (Utbildningsutskottets

betänkande 1994–95:UbU4). However, Finnish is still not acknowledged as a minority language, and stands thus somewhere between the position of the languages of Sami and immigrants.

However, an apparently rapid change is emerging, and a new minority policy is to be established. A Royal Commission was appointed in September 1995. Its task is to investigate whether Sweden can ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, or what parts Sweden can sign; and thus to define the Swedish national minorities (Winberg 1995; RD 1994–95:117). The second Minority Commission was set up in late 1996. Its task is to study whether Sweden can ratify the European Council's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Dir 1996:77). The Commissions will submit a joint report in January 1998. According to oral information, it has been suggested that Sami and Finnish (including *Meänkieli*) in the Torne Valley may be given territorial minority status.

The government has established a new special division within the Ministry of Agriculture known as the Division of Sami and Education. Its task is to be concerned with Sami and "other national minorities". In addition, the division is to deal with hunting, gene technology, the preservation of genes, and general national minority issues (DN 18/5-1995). Thus it seems that the term "minority" will be included in the government's policy, but this time with a more restricted meaning. It is, however, somewhat surprising that gene technology, educational and minority issues are dealt with in a division which is part of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The only conclusion the Minority Commission on the European Charter can come to, from a political and international perspective, is that the Charter should be ratified to cover the Sami and Tornedalen Finnish/Finnish regional languages. In practice this would be principally in the five original Finnish-speaking municipalities of Gällivare, Kiruna, Pajala, Övertorneå and Haparanda. This action would place Sweden in its broader European context and bring the Swedish legislation into line with the intentions of the EU. Sweden Finnish and Romany are more likely to be defined as non-territorial minority languages.

The European perspective

Minority issues have been stressed and put high on the political agenda in the Council of Europe since the late 1980s, and the new policy is sometimes defined as a "Copernican turn" (EC 1994). The latest resolution, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, worked out by the Council of Europe, was adopted in 1994 (FC 1994). It will come into effect on 1 February 1998, because Finland as the twelfth member state of the Council of Europe ratified the Framework Convention in October 1997. The agreement, however, appears to be weak in its details. There is great discussion on how to define a minority, which probably affects how specific a general agreement can be.

The most powerful instrument for the protection of minority languages is the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. This was adopted by the Council of Europe on 5 November 1992 (Contact Bulletin 1992), and has the legal status of a European Convention. This means that once a country has signed and ratified it, that country must integrate it into its state legislation (Booklet EBLUL 1995). The Euro-

pean Charter requires ratification by five member states of the Council of Europe to bring it into force (EC 1994:31–2). Up to August 1994 thirteen European Governments had signed the charter: Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Finland, Norway and Spain among EU member states; and Cyprus, Hungary, Liechtenstein, Malta and Switzerland among the other countries. Norway (1993), Finland (1994), Hungary (1995) and The Netherlands (1996) were the first four nations to ratify the European Charter (EC 1994:31–2). According to EBLUL information, Switzerland and Croatia will ratify the charter in 1998, and it will come into force in that year.

On 1 January 1995 Sweden became a member of the EU. One independent body working closely with the EU is the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL). EBLUL seeks to preserve and promote the lesser used autochthonous languages of the EU, together with their associated cultures. It works in close cooperation with the Commission of the European Union, the European Parliament, member state institutions, the Council of Europe and other bodies, in furtherance of its aims (Contact Bulletin 1994/no. 2).

The Bureau has established Member State Committees with sub-committees for each autochthonous minority in each member state of the EU. In 1995 it was expanded to include Member State Committees from Austria, Finland and Sweden, so that there are at least 26 representatives from 13 countries. EBLUL has acknowledged three linguistic/autochthonous minorities in Sweden: Sami, Tornedalians and Sweden Finns. The Sweden Finns are acknowledged as a particular linguistic minority, whereas the Romanies have non-territorial minority status. These four groups gained membership of EBLUL in 1996. In 1997 the Jewish Council was accepted as a member of the Swedish committee, i.e. Yiddish is acknowledged as having minority status.

The European Parliament decided in the early 1980s that a budget allocation should be earmarked for indigenous minorities within the EU. In 1997 the fund was about 3.75 million ECU. Furthermore there are a number of projects which aim to support minority or lesser used languages. One is the study visit program under which minority members can travel with grants from the EU to other minority areas in order to learn how to develop minority cultures and establish a multilingual and multicultural European network. However, neither the European Parliament nor the EU has defined any particular minority within the EU. The particular definitions are drawn up by EBLUL.

In 1994 the European Parliament adopted a resolution with a number of conditions for each member state of the EU in order to protect and develop minority and regional languages. The resolution calls on member state governments and on local and regional authorities to encourage and support specialized associations, in particular the Member State Committees of EBLUL, and to provide them with necessary resources. Furthermore, the resolution calls on the member state governments which have not yet done so to sign and ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages as a matter of urgency (Contact Bulletin 1994/no. 1).

Summary

The bilingual culture of the Torne Valley has since the late nineteenth century been neglected by local, regional and national authorities. Local politicians were earlier more often monolingual Swedish speakers. Today there are hardly any linguistic differences among the local politicians, but still neglect and rejection of the local culture are prominent. However, a rapid change is emerging in some municipalities, especially in Haparanda and Pajala.

At the local level there have been few attempts to define the bilingual culture as a minority. However, the most obvious feature of the policies of municipalities in northern Sweden is complete neglect of the bilingual areas. Regional plans for how to improve the economy and culture have not even mentioned bilingualism as either a resource or a problem. One exception to this rule has the County Council of Norrbotten.

At the national level there is an official and an unofficial policy. The official policy passed through the Swedish Parliament and reflects public opinion among the politicians. Until 1984 there was no motion with any form of request to support Tornedalen Finnish and the linguistic culture of the Torne Valley, although a number of motions suggested support for immigrant languages and Sami culture. Since 1984 one politician from Kiruna has forced the parliament to acknowledge the existence of the bilingual culture. Since then the parliament has a number of times defined Tornedalians as an "original native population".

However, Sweden has sent a report to the Council of Europe maintaining that Sweden has two linguistic minorities: Sami and Tornedalians. This statement forms the unofficial policy which can also be traced in government bills and reports from Royal Commissions.

When Sweden planned its immigrant policy in the late 1960s the Swedish Parliament could not separate immigrants from the concept of a minority. Tornedalians belonged to the category of immigrants and minorities until 1985 when the parliament excluded the term "minority". From 1985 onward it has been called an immigrant and refugee policy. Thus Tornedalians have no particular position. Earlier they had been put together with immigrants, and the Swedish Tornedalians' Association had the formal right to request economic support from the aid given to immigrant and minority organisations. However, no support was given from this funding. In reality immigrant languages receive better support from the government than the largest national minority in Sweden. In any interpretation of international human rights conventions, Tornedalians can be defined as a national minority.

Despite the fact that nearly every Tornedalian and Sweden Finn distinguishes two Finnish-speaking groups in Sweden, a study in 1994 carried out by the Ministry of Education could still not distinguish Sweden Finns from Tornedalians. They were treated as one unit.

Sometimes Tornedalians are treated as a national, linguistic or ethnic minority, sometimes as immigrants and a minority, but mostly as common Swedish citizens with no special rights.

In September 1995 and 1996 the Swedish government appointed two Royal Commissions which will study whether and, if so, which parts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages can be applied to the Swedish setting, and whether

Sweden can ratify the Framework Convention for National Minorities. A new minority policy may be the result of these Minority Commissions.

Notes

[1] However, in a debate during the 1950s on linguistic oppression in the Torne Valley the *Norrländska Social Demokraten* clearly opposed the idea that linguistic oppression existed, but argued that bilingualism was a problem. According to *NSD* Tornedalians did not want to learn Finnish (Ågren 1964).

[2] This form of resistance may be common in minority areas; for instance in Friesland Frisian placenames were seen by local entrepreneurs as hampering economic development (Sytsema 1993).

[3] This was a response to the Royal Commission on Culture (SOU 1995:84). However, this statement from Pajala municipality has little support in any international conventions. Sami constitute an indigeneous minority, whereas the Tornedalians constitute a national, autochthonous, border or linguistic minority. The indigeneous minority has a stronger position in human rights conventions.

[4] However, according to another set of statistics where certain costs are excluded, the County Council of Norrbotten scores above average (SÅL 1995). The difference in figures depends on the definition of culture, according to representatives of the Council.

[5] Ragnar Lassinantti argued in the 1950s against the idea that any form of linguistic oppression existed in the Torne Valley (Ågren 1964).

[6] This confusion is in fact a fairly common feature of the Swedish Parliament. When the status of Finnish was discussed in the parliament in 1994 Tornedalians and Sweden Finns were once again taken for one and the same group — this time deliberately and for political benefit (RD 1994/95:40, 24ff.)

CHAPTER 9

THE DUAL CULTURE OF THE TORNE VALLEY

Context bound and context free reasoning

Background

In the 1930s researchers in the former Soviet Union carried out tests in order to study and compare the ways in which illiterate and educated people solve different kinds of cognitive problems. A major finding of their studies was that illiterates' way of thinking is strongly context bound, spontaneous and linked with personal experiences. Illiterates associate concepts with their practical function and do not categorize them in the theoretical manner that literates do (Luria 1976b:53ff.; Vygotsky 1992:xl). The illiterates studied could not separate a task from themselves as individuals and see the problem as something outside their own personal world (Luria 1976b:126). They consequently relied more on their immediate experience, rather than on the use of language as an objective tool. Schooling creates new habits, and, as Luria states "it results in the formation of 'academic' rather than 'mundane' concepts. Equally important, the transition from visual to conceptual thinking not only affects the role that words assume in a process of codification; it also changes the very nature of words; the meaning they are imbued with" (Luria 1976b:53). Immediate, visual and emotional impressions structure the meaning of the words in the illiterate society as well as in a child's world, but through schooling these are replaced with conscious concepts at a general level of understanding. The different modes of reasoning were metaphorically described by Vygotsky whereby two types of experiences produce two kinds of concepts, albeit interrelated — one "scientific" and one spontaneous (Vygotsky 1992:147ff.). The spontaneous concepts work slowly "upwards" towards greater generalization and abstraction, whereas the "scientific" concepts develop "downwards" towards greater concreteness.

Until around 1945 it was a commonly held opinion in Western societies that the well educated class spoke better and more elaborately as the result of their better education and particularly because of their better innate abilities. This perspective on innate intelligence began to deteriorate after 1945 and a new growing body of knowledge about the influence of environment on intelligence emerged. The speech of the working class was still considered to be impoverished, but this was now considered to be the result of their social conditions. In the 1950s Basil Bernstein initiated a debate by dividing speech into elaborated and restricted codes (e.g. Bernstein 1971). We can summarize his ideas with the schema shown in Figure 38.

Figure 38. Elaborated and restricted speech codes

Elaborated code	Restricted code
Universalistic	Particularistic
Articulated symbols	Condensed symbols
Explicitness	Implicitness
Rational	Metaphorical
Context free	Context dependent
Individualized roles	Communalized roles
Social distance	Social intimacy

Source: Grillo 1989:183.

According to Bernstein, who followed an old philosophical and sociological tradition, the different forms of reasoning were also reflected in personality and social behaviour. Bernstein argued that the middle class had a more elaborated capacity for self monitoring and could thus better control speech forms. He came to this conclusion by showing that middle class people hesitate or plan more before speaking, whereas the working class is more impulsive and spontaneous (Bernstein 1971:76ff.). Thus the middle class has one spontaneous linguistic structure for private use and one consciously monitored formal structure in public — otherwise it would be impossible to deliberately choose between different forms. On the other hand the working class generally has only one: performance and competence are to a greater extent one and the same. Bernstein argued that the elaborated code of the middle class was superior to the restricted code of the working class. This form of analysis was one of Bernstein's primary faults. He did not compare like with like. When comparing informal speech from both groups no significant difference was found. Of course the formal style differed to a great extent between these two groups (Grillo 1989:184).

For a number of reasons Bernstein's ideas were strongly rejected by many scholars, but their impact on linguistic research was nevertheless great. The field attracted interest and one of the most eminent linguists, William Labov, showed that the "street academy" of the blacks had a fully fledged language, equal to any formal language in complexity and content (e.g. Labov 1974). He showed that the formal test situation restrains the working class more than it does the middle class because of the structural conflict between the Standard written language and informal speech, and stressed the importance of pragmatic aspects. Labov used the grammar of the "street academy" language as its own norm to show its complexity and did not, as had previously been the norm for linguistic research, use the written language as normative grammar (Linell 1982). This separation between formal and informal language due to environmental causes showed that each variety had its own complex set of rules. This led to the first study where monolinguals were in reality said to be bilinguals (Österberg 1961). Österberg claimed that it is better to instruct in the local variety in order to improve the linguistic abilities of the pupil. This initiated a huge amount of interest in the difference between a local variety and a Standard language. Österberg gained a great number of followers. The separation continued in a number of fields and the concepts were given a variety of new terms: pragmatic vs analytical; surface

language competence vs intellectual competence; embedded vs disembedded; oral everyday competence vs cognitive competence; context bound vs context free, etc. (cf. Virta 1994). The context bound way of using the language is strongly linked to the local environment, whereas the context free use of language is separated from personal experiences. In the 1970s and 1980s a new formulation of Österberg's idea of instructing in the local language emerged. It was maintained that bilingual pupils should be highly literate in both languages before bilingualism would be an advantage in the school setting (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976; Linde and Lofgren 1988; Cummins 1991; Snow et al. 1991).

We can call the context bound mode spontaneous inductive reasoning, whereas the context free mode is conscious deductive and inductive reasoning. In the spontaneous mode the concepts are strongly tied to personal experiences; it proceeds from and is triggered by direct sensory impressions. Because of its spontaneous nature it does not demand a high degree of metalinguistic awareness, e.g. a person can perform the art of welding without being aware of the words used to describe it, but hardly if he lacks personal experience of welding. This form of reasoning is typical of an oral language. On the other hand, the context free mode of reasoning proceeds from concepts which are consciously understood and thus separated from personal experience. This form is promoted in schooling where a high degree of literacy is required which is directly linked to metalinguistic awareness. Metalinguistic awareness is thus the prerequisite for intellectual and analytical reasoning. We can argue, furthermore, that the concepts used in the context free mode are not equivalent to the concepts that are seemingly corresponding in the context bound mode: there are two different forms of understanding reality as well. Each form of reasoning is superior to the other one in the appropriate context.

The context bound reasoning of the child

Children acquire the language in interaction with parents, brothers and sisters, and the language becomes strongly context bound in playing. In activities children link words with objects and qualities. With growing maturity, or increasing ability to focus attention on how words are used in different kinds of contexts and compare them with each other, they slowly learn that the words do not denote only particular experienced objects but similar objects in general (e.g. Gombert 1992:119; Harris 1992:35ff.). When they have achieved a conscious idea of the general meaning of a word the first approximation of the ideal and context free universal concept has emerged, not existing in reality but solely as an imagined entity. The smallest entity of metalinguistic awareness is probably at the phonological level. The degree of such awareness predicts when the child possesses the capacity to read (Arnqvist 1991; Blachman et al. 1994; Cary et al. 1994). We know that increasing phonological awareness correlates with increasing awareness of the language as an object in its own right. Metalinguistic awareness is established at about five years of age (Karanth et al. 1995).

As an illustration of the child's way of learning the language we can take the single object "dog", for instance. The child associates in her first experiences a particular dog as the only dog signified by the word "dog" (Harris 1992:81), and this is later generalized to other dogs or to other small four-legged animals. Young children have a

low ability to make correct generalizations (Lambert 1972:63). Often the linguistic generalizations become too narrow or too broad, and because this seems to be a general cognitive quality, other forms of action become generalized wrongly as well. As expected, high frequency words are first used in a variety of domains and beyond their immediate context, e.g. abstract concepts such as "more", "yes" and "no" (Harris 1992:83).

The primary principle for acquiring the language is to use it (e.g. Piaget 1951; Luria 1978:79, 83, 105ff.). Piaget's principle tells us that intelligence cannot be separated from action. Action reinforces the network of spontaneous concepts which children use in their reasoning. With growing maturity they learn that the words signify general categories which correspond to direct experiences, i.e. they proceed from single objects to general concepts which can be applied in other fields (Skutnabb-Kangas 1986; Piaget 1988). With increasing self awareness and literacy children can observe the language as an instrument in its own right detached from their experiences. This normally occurs between the ages of 10 and 14.

During childhood, sense perceptions are imprinted in the memory as part of the structure of the context, and become conscious by trial and error and connected with those particular feelings that occurred at the time of the perceptions. Hence words which denote spontaneous concepts based on experiences are intertwined with sadness, pleasure, sorrow, anxiety, anger, colours, dependence, familiarity, and other concepts (e.g. Piaget 1988:40ff.). Therefore we may assume that if the child is forced to learn some actions which repel him, for example, then this whole field will be suppressed in the adult, and the vocabulary referring to the actions will be something which the adult experiences as aversive and tries to avoid. This will result in the adult "losing" his spontaneous implicit reasoning in this network of associations, and the experience which repelled him will influence reasoning and action.

Children do not give any conscious consideration to code switching, bilinguality, or norms; nor do they have any particular idea of how they should use each language. Through practice they will develop an ingrained habit of language behaviour that will follow them to adulthood. This subconscious learning forms part of the associative network, i.e. even the form is engraved at the spontaneous level and becomes part of the social context. This will later be responsible for different language behaviours.

One important reason why children copy language behaviour, and do not follow other norms, is the absence of different norms to choose from. An "empty" consciousness has only known structures to rely upon. Thus children lack meta-awareness of linguistic practice as well. Self monitoring requires an explicit instrument, i.e. another structures. Instead, they experience their language as a part of their personality and action. Language is part of the world they experience.

The linguistic mind of the Tornedalian

The two different ways of reasoning can be applied to the Tornedalen Finnish culture, which is acquired through action in practical activities such as farming, forestry, hunting, fishing, etc. Through this the oral language becomes strongly linked with immediate associations in the individual context of experiences (cf. Ong 1990:21). Moreover, to know the work of a farmer in Tornedalen Finnish, for example, is to instanta-

neously comprehend the wholeness of farming and an ability to transform reasoning and understanding into practice. By contrast, a literate person can grasp all universal concepts in farming theoretically but lacks the intuitive habitualized wholeness. Tornedalen Finnish can therefore not be detached from the context where it is used, as well as from the totality of actions. Outside the practical context Tornedalen Finnish will become an inadequate analytical instrument.

The analytical style, by contrast, is required and taught in schools and will gain a context bound function within the educational framework of understanding. The inductive mode of reasoning is a requirement for a worker in order to increase his effectiveness and to develop better individual skills; within this context the analytical language is perhaps a burden, e.g. a welder must be able to weld spontaneously without consciously thinking of how he does it. From knowing to doing and from doing to knowing are the two available forms of reasoning. Both forms become habits within the context where one form dominates. The advantage of using a spontaneous language behaviour in a homogeneous setting is obvious, because the spontaneous language can create mutual understanding at the context bound level. "Complete" understanding is a considerable advantage in most practical occupations where action centred knowledge can be transferred.

However, no word can transmit experience. If the listener lacks experience in the perceived information he cannot understand the content in its spontaneous mode. But how is the transmitted information perceived if experience is lacking? The concepts of an analytical language must exist in a structure other than the language of practical action and demand an increasing explicit awareness of the language form. If explicit reasoning becomes a habit the spontaneous act is transformed to a means for another end. A worker in a practical field can hardly remain in his occupation if he cannot habitualize his practice to the spontaneous mode and experience it as an end in itself, i.e. find pleasure from this form of action. Moreover, as cognitive qualities are probably general it includes language behaviour as well. Thus the method of the worker demands that language is principally used to transmit implicit knowledge. Extensive explicit knowledge may result in the worker remaining to a greater extent in the conscious mode of action. Thereby he loses both interest and competence in the job as such.

It has been shown that workers in practical domains use more metaphors than well educated people do (Grillo 1989). Very few people have acquired literacy in Tornedalen Finnish; therefore the oral language is predominantly used as a tool for communication which reflects the linguistic behaviour of the oral culture. Because of the practical aspect Tornedalen Finnish is more associated with concrete concepts, and thus should have fewer words for abstract ideas than a literary language does. When abstract concepts must be explained it is more common to use metaphors rather than analytical descriptions.

Besides being members of an oral culture, Tornedalians are also members of the Swedish culture and thus have the same level of literacy as monolingual Swedes. Swedish dominates the literate culture of the Torne Valley and is associated with school, books, television, radio, newspapers, authorities, official life, and culture that lies outside private life. Within this field Swedish is principally used as a tool for instrumental means.

These two structures are visible in the language behaviour of Tornedalians and explain part of the language shift process: why do Tornedalians often use Swedish loan words instead of quite frequent original Tornedalen Finnish terms? And why do they often use Swedish orthography when they occasionally write in Finnish?

Loans and prestige in the context bound mode

Reading and writing produce awareness of the universal application of words because of the different types of texts which describe a broad field of contexts. The pupil learns how words, which in his normal life signify the practical and experienced world, can be applied everywhere and far beyond personal experiences. The text in itself is a general map which is derived from an imagined or experienced reality, i.e. the opposite way of reasoning which the pupil learned in the practical field.

On the other hand, words in the oral language are linked to their use in their social context, because lack of literacy imprints a habit of avoiding analogizing in a general sense. The comprehension of the oral language depends upon achieving a close empathic identification with what is known.

Another factor influencing the direction and number of loans is the unequal aesthetic valuation of different languages and varieties, caused by underlying beliefs, prejudices and stereotypes. These so called prestige values can be explained as being social concepts which reflect the social hierarchy of the community. A social concept is the spontaneous, unanalytical meaning and understanding of an object, e.g. title, clothes, style, car, house, etc.; or particular features in a language such as accent. The social concept is the unmentioned meaning of the particular quality of language. Its meaning is to produce social hierarchy and thus to maintain power with an apparently neutral form. In short all kinds of projections onto the groups who speak the variety are social concepts or social identity markers. None of these identity markers would exist if there was no mutual agreement between different groups of what is prestigious and what is not. The marker of stigma is as important as its positive opposite. Every projection is a stereotype, a cliché or a generalized model of speech forms, groups or individuals, an image of how the whole group ranks socially, or how the observer wants them to be for his own comfort. Because emotions direct the identity markers they are in their implicit meaning their own ends. However, the positively reinforcing identity markers in the analytical mind will become an important means for the speaker's own ambitions.

Swedish is associated with a "nicer" culture, while Finnish is the vernacular of the workers. The prestigious language dominates a broad range of immediate associations and social concepts.

In the oral culture the immediate associations are the very source of mutual understanding. An inhibition of these would lead to reasoning which would vary between explicit and implicit reasoning. By following spontaneous associations and letting them govern the choice of words, the oral culture can retain its practical and context bound reasoning. Every attempt to become conscious of language form produces an inhibition of associations and a demand for increased self monitoring and hence explicit reasoning, which is not developed and practised in the oral culture.

Therefore low frequency words in Tornedalen Finnish are slowly being replaced by Swedish terms.

The low aesthetic value of an oral language is the result of the status projected onto a prestige language which forces it to be used in the private domain. In a new milieu or a new occupation, the speaker of the oral language has less intuitive linguistic practice to draw upon for new analogies. Because of the general applicability of the literary language the speaker will identify the new milieu with the official dominant language. When the bilingual speaks in Finnish in the new surroundings, more automatic associations with Swedish loans emerge, even though similar concepts exist in the bilingual area.

The degree of code switching and use of "unnecessary" loans in spontaneous speech correlate with the degree of fluency in Swedish. Before the 1950s many fewer loans occurred because of the lack of fluent mastery of Swedish among Tornedalians. The dominant language has become more proficient, whereas fluency in vocabulary of the mother tongue has decreased. The oral bilingual society therefore does not have two separate languages, but two languages used simultaneously.

Loans and literacy

A reflection of the link to the environment of the context bound language is the common knowledge in linguistic research that concepts cannot be changed unless a new term is borrowed, i.e. the concept and the form tend to form one unit. This means that a small change in the object will produce a latent possibility for a loan. We can describe some examples: even very common words such as Tornedalen Finnish *kukka* 'flower' can be replaced with the Swedish loan *plumma*. They are identical in qualities but differs in associations. A new type of flower could be the reason for the Swedish loan, perhaps perceived as a new category of flowers.

Another example is the common Finnish word *home* 'mould'. Its concrete and familiar meaning is principally mould on jam or other food. But when mould appears in modern houses the spontaneous analogy does not always work and the Swedish loan *möökeli* may be used.

These examples represent thousands of words associated with the Finnish-speaking environment and particular concrete objects. The idea of the linkage of the words to the particular context is probably part of a general principle whereby words are linked with their spontaneous concepts. This idea includes social context and is explained with the lower ability of the oral culture to make inductions from the particular to the general when direct experiences are missing.

Spontaneous analogies seemingly do not always accept conceptual variations. The acquisition of words is intertwined with the ability to analogize and copy. This has been shown in studies in which bilinguals associate words spontaneously from each language to different domains. For example, in one study Spanish words were associated with the private domain, whereas English words were associated with school, work and public life (John-Steiner and Irvine 1978:104).

The same context bound reasoning appears when bilingual Tornedalians try to write in their oral language. Besides aesthetic values, level of literacy is another influencing factor on loans. In a number of studies of illiterates it was noticed that they have much

weaker phonological awareness, and thus, of language as such; only when the words rhymed they could differentiate between phonemes, or in other words differences between spoken sounds (Morais et al. 1994; Bertelson et al. 1991). This does not imply that illiterates are unable to separate one phoneme from another; even a baby can separate different sounds. But the separation is unconscious and spontaneous. Similarly, illiterate Tornedalians often cannot distinguish other linguistic categories such as the nominative form of nouns or the infinitive form of verbs. These are categories from an analytical perspective. With literacy in a phonological script, knowledge of the "right" forms becomes available through an established superior conscious structure. Through reading, the habit of using only Swedish becomes inscribed in spontaneous thought and thus it also explains why Tornedalians do not use Finnish loans in their Swedish, and are able to distinguish Swedish loans in formal speech. If people are completely illiterate in both languages they should mix both languages almost equally. In fact, this two-way mixing was common for instance among Swedish Americans in the nineteenth century. It was argued that they could not speak any language. They probably had weak literacy in both languages. However, the core vocabulary remains intact in the most spontaneous language, but can be borrowed into the second language.

Whenever bilinguals try to write Tornedalen Finnish, Swedish orthography influences the written form because they have a habit of writing in the Swedish mode and to a great extent lack Finnish orthography[1] (Jaakkola 1969:72). With literacy in Swedish they have also gained access to an explicit instrument which can be applied in writing. How can anyone be conscious of a language without using another instrument with which they can focus attention on the language? Consciousness demands a superior normative structure which is given externally. This is especially evident when Tornedalians recognize a word that can be related to Swedish.

This means for instance that when bilinguals have some access to Finnish orthography they tend to exclude Swedish loan words written with Finnish orthography. Even fairly old loan words such as *plootu* 'sheet metal' or *ploosari* 'blower' tend to be written in the Swedish manner *plåtu* and *plåsari*; with short vowels and with Finnish *oo* becoming Swedish *å*. The Finnish form is seen as ridiculous or read with Swedish orthography. But when they write recognized old Finnish words, such as *vaara* 'hill', *naama* 'face' or *laari* 'bin', they instinctively want to write with two vowels. The short vowel in this case would look wrong.

One explanation for the mixed writing form may be that whenever bilinguals use a Swedish loan they tend to use the orthography of that language, as a marker that such words are not really accepted as original words, but also because of the lack of knowledge of another writing system. The Swedish loan words consequently have lower status in the Finnish text and should be indicated as such. They analogize from the audio-visual picture they gain from the original Swedish word form and apply that rule and claim that other writing forms are faulty, whereas the Finnish word generally lacks a visual image for its form. In addition, those who have some competence in reading Standard Finnish are aware of Standard Finnish orthography and tend to apply these norms in their own Finnish, even though it can differ phonologically, such as Tornedalen Finnish *lehen* 'leaf's' and Standard Finnish *lehden*. They are not consciously aware of the sound change rule, yet they explicitly try to write with Tornedalen

Finnish orthography. Nevertheless, they tend to use the Standard Finnish orthography subconsciously. They cannot write with the Tornedalen Finnish form if it has not first been explicitly learnt as a structure. If awareness of form is absent illiterates comprehend the linguistic sound as inseparable from its concept and its context.

Tornedalians write in a similar way to the way they talk: they mix both languages and both orthographies. The written rules reflect the mixed use of the languages and the degree of metalinguistic awareness. Consciousness may be empty in content and without any internal linguistic structure of its own. Consequently, Tornedalians' consciousness can only compare differences between spoken sounds which in themselves are directly linked to the context where they are produced. When trying to write the oral language they do not have any access to the word in its written form and thus must use the auditory sense perception of speech, and use their fragmentary knowledge of written Finnish and the Swedish script structure as tools for writing. But there are a great number of variations of the same word, and Tornedalians have no tool for separating the normative form from its variations. All variations are normative in their spontaneous speech. However, it is only after some tens of hours of instruction that they can for the most part write quite homogeneously in a Tornedalen Finnish manner.

Two ways of reasoning in the oral culture

One factor influencing the number of loan words and the degree of formal speech is the projection of emotions onto the formal language. The difference between context bound and context free reasoning is not only found on a general level, but in principle probably has an effect at every linguistic level. We can use some particular features of the use of formal speech in Tornedalen Finnish to explain the differences. On the phonological level a Tornedalian knows that some words must be pronounced with a [*ts*], such as *metsä* 'forest' and *Ruotsi* 'Sweden', and other words should be pronounced with a [*d*], e.g. *mahdoton* 'impossible'. The competing spontaneous forms in Tornedalen Finnish are *mettä*, *Ruotti* and *mahoton*. The [*ts*] and [*d*] forms have higher prestige and the average Tornedalian has been able to focus attention on these features because of their high frequency. In general, however, they do not identify the underlying phonological rule for when [*d*] should be applied or how to use the [*ts*] form. At the lexical level they know that in "proper" speech *minä* 'I' and *auto* 'car', for example, are preferred to Tornedalen Finnish *mie* and *biili*. At the morphological and perhaps even the syntactic level there may be "superior" forms which, mainly subconsciously, compete with spontaneous norms.

This fragmentary but normative structure constitutes a mental map which is applied whenever accessible. The main difference between Tornedalen Finnish *mettä* and Standard Finnish *metsä* is hence the difference in concepts. The reference for *mettä* denotes a spontaneous concept directly linked to the speaker's experiences and is thereby part of a context bound structure of associations. The reference for *metsä*, on the other hand, is a non-spontaneous context free concept, liberated from particular associations and existing at a general level.

Awareness of the ideal Finnish norms is limited, however. On the other hand, the words and structures of the text become the norms for speech for the literate. The

characteristic feature of any linguistic projection is that it requires a conceptual ideal. These ideal norms can be split into their smallest units where the smallest entity for auditory perception is the phoneme. This exists in the conscious mind as an imagined ideal form for thought and speech, useful in a given context with socially defined understanding: "Did it ever exist otherwise than in the conscious thoughts of alphabetically literate minds?" (Morais and Kolinsky 1994). Variations in pronunciation of phonemes are common, for example in the private speech of Tornedalians.

Despite the absence of a high level of phonological awareness the illiterate can hear differences between sounds; this is a prerequisite for understanding a language. But the differences are not phonemes, syllables, cases or any defined linguistic category, but sounds which are spontaneously associated with concepts, and thus with context bound understanding. A particular sound becomes a phoneme when it is consciously processed in the mind (cf. Morais et al. 1994). We can therefore assume that the most spontaneous speech would be spoken by complete illiterates, but if they have any form of metalinguistic awareness which they try to apply in a formal setting their speech will be impoverished, because they try to follow an inadequate explicit structure.

The social heritage of the Tornedalians

The spontaneous culture of Tornedalen Finnish

> The individual who attains an immediate concrete understanding of the familiar world, of the native atmosphere in which and for which he has been brought up, is thereby deprived of the possibility of appropriating immediately and fully the world that lies outside. Pierre Bourdieu (1990).

The process of language shift begun at the end of the nineteenth century has accelerated in recent decades. Today the former language policy which aimed to monolingualize the area has left a social heritage: the inhabitants of the Torne Valley are becoming monolinguals, and a reaction to the resulting cultural impoverishment has produced intensive artistic activity. Books, plays and songs are published and performed in Swedish and Tornedalen Finnish.

This cultural involvement seems to be inspired by the nostalgic awareness that the history of the Torne Valley is going to take another direction where the children no longer share the same background as their parents, and understand the environment from a different perspective from previous generations.

The ongoing process will perhaps result after some decades in Swedish dominating in every field. However, the language shift will probably cause other consequences for later monolingual generations.

One characteristic feature which some aware parents have noticed in their largely monolingual children is the lack of curiosity about the history of the Torne Valley and the experiences of older generations. Some, mainly middle class families, have spoken only Swedish with their older children and, as a result of the revival movement, Finnish to their younger children. They have noticed that the older children left the family's company during dinner as quickly as possible when they talked about old

times in Finnish, for example, and generally had little interest in joining visits to neighbouring families where the conversation was in Finnish, or mixed languages, and where the subjects were common knowledge of the traditions in the village such as fairy tales, jokes, gossip, ways of living, original people, funny fates, proverbs, sayings, the history of the village, relatives, friends, etc. The children could just understand the explicit information, but had considerable problems in comprehending the point of a story or the interest in a conversation. When the parents tried to translate for them they lost the point themselves, because the spoken culture was so interwoven with Finnish that it hindered thinking in the other language and the point was lost. They therefore experienced alienation and were distanced in family relationships, and with other villagers and older generations. The parents, on the other hand, were distanced from their own history by Swedish and could not experience the same fellowship in Swedish. The result was that the children stayed at home, playing their own games, and refused to join in communal activities because they could not participate. They lost interest in being with older people, because they talked Finnish, or Swedish addressed to them as a cultureless language.

Those who have become aware of this phenomenon have begun to speak Finnish with their younger children — only about ten families in this study — and have realized the considerable difference in family relationships with the active and receptive bilingual children. The active bilinguals are more active and curious participants. They listen, ask questions and talk more with compassion and interest about the subject for the evening. During the gatherings structures of storytelling are imprinted, emotions are linked with language and its cultural background and context, ways of thinking, curiosity, concentration ability, the way to construct and retell a tale and the ability to become aware, discover and visualize structures in everyday events, which in a recast mode can be a funny story or a moral example of behaviour. They learn to apply, derive and construct proverbs in everyday life and discover that compressed proverbs are an old tradition, learned through painful experiences, which pass on wisdom, moral and common human practice, but which also contain and develop two forms of reasoning. These conversations are important experiences in the villagers' way of developing the culture of the language. This acquired structure is basically implicit and outside conscious linguistic awareness and reflection, but it is nevertheless one of the most important ways in which the language leads to understanding of the environment and the culture.

In the family circle the child learns how reality can be discovered, invented, imagined and brought to consciousness; how the particular culture analogizes, associates, compares, correlates and explains ways of thinking that ordinary people apply to produce mutual understanding and shared collective identity.

Through the mediation of the cultural background the language will be interwoven with personal experiences, emotions, and the social fellowship of the village which ranges over the generations and constitutes the present in its totality. In short the social heritage of culture is embodied in language.

With these structures the villagers are able to anticipate the future and understand the past and the present. This background in the language provides a unity of memories, associations and structures which the individual is later able to reflect inductively and deductively, and thus integrate knowledge that is outside the personally

experienced world. The new knowledge will be transparent in comparison with the old facts, and seemingly familiar and trivial knowledge will become more conscious and restructured with the new information.

In doing this the children will share and participate in their own culture and receive a basis for understanding other cultures and ways of living. Adults possess an immediate habitual understanding imprinted during childhood that structures schoolbooks, literature, music, theatre, the substance of art, and relates them to personally experienced life history. Through this process an understanding of the surrounding world is accessible. This is the reason the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, for example, stresses that we can understand the whole content of a particular time through the use of phrases, sayings, proverbs, fairy tales, songs, stories, etc.; they reach out to instant memories and associations (Bourdieu 1989:20).

Today only some of the adolescents are immediate participants in the positive — and we should say negative as well — aspects of the collective history of the village. Girls especially are left out, but also increasing numbers of boys. These outsiders will be more inclined to neglect local culture because they do not have access to its traditions. They are not influenced by the original culture that facilitates the perceptions needed to derive pleasure from reading good literature, for example, or to make appropriate analyses of factual information.

Transmission of Swedish culture

> "He who is born under this heaven is a guest in Finland and a stranger in Sweden." Saying in the Torne Valley.

Tornedalen Finnish is used to understand the local culture, whereas Swedish is the main instrument for analyzing the environment. Future generations will only be able to understand Swedish, but to a large extent lack the culture of its language. First generation monolingual Tornedalians have principally acquired Swedish as an intellectual and analytical language, and are spontaneous in emotions and experiences, but do not have the same ability to express themselves as monolingual Swedes who have generations of habitualized traditions in their personal speech and thinking. Parents who are fluent in Finnish are incapable of transferring the background of the Swedish language. Schools can only fragmentarily pass on the cultural context of language. Instead, the aim of schooling is to reinforce and transmit context free and analytic reasoning, i.e. the opposite to the context bound mode.

The history of the Swedish language is passed on to Tornedalians mainly through the parents' knowledge of Swedish traditions. The school and books do not reveal collective practice but only theoretical frameworks in which comprehension through living in the medium of the language is nearly impossible. History will be seen as theories and speculations for the first Swedish-speaking age groups.

The last Finnish-speaking age groups still have their jokes, tales, sayings, phrases in Finnish. They live their history in a milieu where even nature is understood through Finnish, local history is transmitted to them through nature names, and they are able to participate in and imagine a similar life to the one previous generations had. Young people now lack even awareness of the significance of Finnish placenames.

The older generations transfer the network of language traditions to the younger through work, story telling, hunting, fishing, recreation, festivities and especially through many local context bound activities. The inhabitants grow up in the environment as members of the community who have mutual knowledge of the right way to express themselves and the appropriate way to be part of the community. These traditions reinforce their group and individual ways of living. The group and the individual mirror each other's values. They reflect this unity mainly in order to gain confidence, but at times the individual's comprehension attains the level of awareness where he can analyse these perceptions and distance himself from the group's practice. This, in short, is at the heart of why people from the countryside have problems assimilating into an urbanized culture. They lack the close feeling of belonging. Urbanized people, on the other hand, experience loneliness in rural life. Both miss their participation in the feeling of belonging and feel separated from their surroundings: they are not members of a community, but solitary beings.

Present behaviour cannot be detached from personal history and because of this it is a subconscious reflection of history. Present perception of the self fades away if the mirror of history is broken and the individual cannot see himself reflected in the past, because it is this historical "mirror" which enables and structures understanding and is the basis for rational thinking. As long as minorities do not value their history they will not value the importance of their culture and local traditions. This may cause a loss of reliance on common sense and even reasoning, and this produces feelings of low self confidence, inferiority and embarrassment. The relationship with history determines the present identity of the group and the individual.

Monolingual Tornedalians will have less access to imprinted structures which filter perceptions. Consequently this may lead to a mode of thinking which is less able to comprehend the life of a farmer in literature, for example; not in the same associative context bound mode as the average Swedish-speaking farmer in southern Sweden. Once again the children of Tornedalians may be outside the Swedish-speaking community, even though their parents have worked with all their might for complete assimilation into the dominant monolingual society and total eradication of their own local culture. Tornedalen Finnish culture will be seen as a loss for some generations.

This lack of cultural awareness can influence other seemingly culturally independent subjects such as mathematics, geography and physics. With their general lack of confidence pupils can easily become indifferent to their own school careers and social aspirations. This may be one reason why Tornedalians, although now generally monolingual, score lower in cognitive tests than people in other rural municipalities.

Tornedalen Swedish has basically been used as a language of communication outside the home and circle of friends, the intellectual and analytical language. This second language can probably not replace the culture associated with Finnish in one or two generations.

Analogously, Finns in Sweden are often alleged to be boring, quiet and slow speaking, without any sense of fun, and lacking personality in language. But when they are allowed to speak Finnish their personality changes at once and another identity becomes evident. Even though the Sweden Finns speak their second language properly and understand everything "correctly" in the intellectual mode, they still miss something: they do not share the same kinship of understanding as the Swedes do.

They are alienated in their social environment mainly because they cannot acquire the contextual background that permeates every language. They discover their environment through conscious concepts and lack a broad network of spontaneous concepts in Swedish.

Alienation is a consequence of distance from the milieu in which a person exists. If he does not live the tradition he experiences remoteness.

It will probably take several generations before monolingual children have acquired the positive reinforcement of the collective practices of the home village and the negative effects of language shift have diminished from the social heritage. Indeed, it should be possible to measure this in future activities, e.g. in particular forms of literature and art in general, perhaps even in success at school.

The future for monolingual Tornedalians may in some respects become the same as it was before the 1970s, when Swedish was perceived as a language without spirit. From this perspective they should be less able to transfer and transform literary traditions of storytelling. They may perhaps pay for their heightened self confidence in the majority language with double cultural alienation. However, this does not necessarily follow. It depends on how the monolinguals deal with their own more decontextualized language and the emerging new context bound culture.

In fact the first indication that things are heading in this direction has been noticed by Peter Waara. The results of his sociological interviews show that basically monolingual youths in Matarenki do not feel they are "genuine" Tornedalians because of their lack of Finnish; rather they define themselves as Swedish Tornedalians (Waara 1996:118, 195ff.). Many of the young people argue that there is a greater difference between Swedish Tornedalians and "genuine" Tornedalians than between monolingual Swedes and monolingual Tornedalians (Waara 1996:123). Similar feelings have been expressed by Mikael Niemi, an author living in Luleå, the county town of Norrbotten. He belongs to the first generation of monolingual Tornedalians, despite being brought up in Pajala during the 1960s and 1970s. He writes about the Finnish-speaking culture with its and his own prejudices, attitudes and perceptions, seen through his monolingual environment. In adulthood he has learned to speak some Standard Finnish and is thus able to understand Tornedalen Finnish, as an attempt to reach the lost culture. The monolingual culture is alienated from the bilingual. The loss of language is the loss of a whole culture.

Conscious or spontaneous culture

The concept of culture, however, has been defined by anthropologists in a different way, e.g. "culture . . . must be understood as a means to an end, that is, instrumentally or functionally"; "Culture . . . [is] the medium through which he achieves his ends" (Malinowski 1960:67–8). This view is precisely the explicit comprehension of history and mode of knowledge which require metalinguistic and metacultural awareness. This form of knowledge is mainly transferred through public institutions, i.e. education, and is thus instrumental and decontextualized understanding. This form of culture is the basic type of knowledge which is largely absent in illiterate communities. Instrumental action is planned and is always just a means to an end, while spontaneous action is its own end, but will in reality produce other ends as an unavoidable

byproduct. Malinowski's approach to actions was shared by the Russian psychologist Vygotsky. He was unable to discuss anything other than goal directed activity, although his main interest was in defining the intellectual development of children (Vygotsky 1992:102). Later postmodern philosophy argues that there is no action as its own end; no immediacy exists.

Practice precedes theory. Any form of skilled practice excludes monitoring: car driving, sport, arts, etc. The same phenomenon of spontaneous comprehension is evident in reading a text or listening to music. If one tries to become conscious of the emotions that music and text evoke the emotional comprehension and enjoyment may be lost (cf. Linell 1985:270), though one can of course enjoy the structure and style of a text, or people "literate" in music can with their acquired heightened awareness find pleasure in the analysis. However, it is still the practice of this meta-awareness that produces the pleasure.

Language mixing and collective practice

The significantly homogeneous group shares a set of cultural features that establish a social identity based on manners, mores, traditions, attitudes and actions.

This immediate and generally subconscious knowledge of the culture constitutes the relation of the individual to the group: a wholeness of structural understanding intimately associated with language and personal identity, shared with a group, and always immediately accessible in the practice of daily life.

This constitutes the basis of culture, incorporated in behaviour, ethics and thinking. In all interactions knowledge passes through these basic cultural filters in order to be understood. From one perspective it is the ethics of the culture that define how knowledge will be comprehended. Social ethics can be defined as habitualized collective traditions of values.

In the language behaviour of Tornedalians this culture is found in the habit of code switching and the diglossic use of Finnish and Swedish. The children were raised in surroundings where they had learnt from their parents and other adults how the languages were used in practice. They were accustomed to speaking Swedish when they were in school, in the shop, the post office and other public domains. Tornedalen Finnish was spoken at home, among friends and in certain occupational fields such as forestry and farming. Finnish vocabulary was and is transferred to them through activities. Swedish is and was passed on mainly in analytical activities, in an increasing degree of literacy skills, in discussions, and in the school setting generally. They learned to observe local culture in Swedish, whereas spontaneous acts were performed in Finnish. This meant in general terms that spontaneous understanding was not accessible in Swedish and analytical understanding was basically not accessible in Tornedalen Finnish. The cultural mirror was absent in Swedish and was not consciously accessible in Finnish. Swedish concepts tended to be applied consciously, whereas Tornedalen Finnish concepts remained spontaneous. Thus an implicit memory became principally associated with Tornedalen Finnish, whereas explicit memory was developed in Swedish.

The lack of metalinguistic and metacultural awareness had the result that abstract theoretical discussions were not held in Tornedalen Finnish. Consequently Tornedalians do not possess a broad vocabulary for analytical reasoning.

But as adults, or even in school, young people became aware that language mixing was not accepted in Finland or Sweden, or in public life in general. Social awareness and social categorization of speech forms were transmitted in school and in contacts with the majority culture. If Tornedalians want to be part of public life they must reconsider their informal habits and become aware of the public rules and norms.

Most of the bilingual Tornedalians have the habit of speaking Tornedalen Finnish with some people, but Swedish with others. Even in the same family different domains of language use can occur. A son may speak Tornedalen Finnish with his brothers, but Swedish with his parents and sisters.

Adults recognize the need to speak Swedish in communication with authorities. In formal interviews people sometimes start to speak Swedish, though one may explicitly declare that Tornedalen Finnish is preferred. After a while when they feel more comfortable and relaxed they can shift to Tornedalen Finnish. Speaking in Swedish is an adaptation to the expectation that they will be more aware of linguistic and social factors and thus more self monitoring.

Tornedalians are probably not directly aware of what causes this diglossic use of the languages. They just accept the situation because they notice that others are doing the same, and seldom reflect on why it would not be allowed, apart from being aware that Tornedalen Finnish is not appropriate in public life. However, whenever they break the collective habit they become conscious of the feeling of being an outsider. Acting in opposition to the implicit collective rules produces metacultural awareness.

The use of Tornedalen Finnish primarily in private domains is a reflection of its status. If it is associated with embarrassment and gibberish in the public mind, this attitude in itself triggers the desire to avoid such speech in public. Language behaviour displays the status of the particular language, the culture and the social identity of the speakers.

The language of the heart and the language of the mind

Informal speech

Language development in the Torne Valley has been rapid this century, especially during the last few decades. The Swedicization of bilingual Tornedalians, the diglossic use of Tornedalen Finnish and Swedish, and the ongoing language shift can be described in general terms. The average Tornedalian has studied neither Standard Finnish nor Tornedalen Finnish, and has low proficiency in reading and writing Finnish. There are a number of exceptions to this general rule, such as those who have formally studied Finnish or are self taught. Especially during the 1980s a number of writers became active. Yet this general view is useful when explaining some general linguistic features.

The inhabitants of the Torne Valley constitute a fairly homogeneous social group, and in it Tornedalen Finnish has been almost entirely a spoken language until the last decade. The Tornedalen Finnish culture can therefore be defined as a preliterate society

or an oral culture. This perspective has an effect on evaluations of the ingroup's speech.

Young people have a limited fluent vocabulary in Tornedalen Finnish, primarily in the core vocabulary and in the particular domains where they have acquired Finnish in everyday life and practice. Instead they have a wide and fluent competence in Swedish. On the other hand, older people have Tornedalen Finnish as their active mother tongue and better confidence in speaking Tornedalen Finnish in public life because they do not need to use the frequent numbers of Swedish loan words as much as adolescents do. Nowadays all older age groups have better active and receptive competence in Swedish than adolescents have in Tornedalen Finnish.

Many Tornedalians believe that their Swedish is closer to Standard Swedish than other Swedes' language in southern Sweden, because of the lack of old Swedish dialects in the Torne Valley and because many pupils in primary school have been taught that they speak Standard Swedish. From that belief they probably gain confidence in having a more casual form of Swedish for public use, and this is reinforced because they are surrounded by linguistic role models for how to speak Swedish in public life and because Swedish is a literary language.

A person who has grown up with an active mastery of Swedish associates emotions with Swedish linked to a spontaneous associative substructure. Some words have stylistic value; others are seemingly objective and emotion-free but still perceived as positive or negative. In a group the person shares values, ideas, emotions, and attitudes through the medium of Swedish. This shared practice reinforces the group, especially among boys, and is in itself conservative and resistant to linguistic change in everyday life.

Using Swedish words produces spontaneous images of a way of life which is shared with family, friends and the other inhabitants of the village. The structure of associations reflected in the everyday language ties the individual to his environment as positive reinforcement of pleasure in the familiar village, and as negative reinforcement in a different milieu. When the individual way of life is not mirrored in the present the person loses confidence and thus a weakened identity emerges.

Young people can grasp words in Tornedalen Finnish, but as they have rarely used them in concrete action they are in the receptive mode of understanding. Their mastery of Tornedalen Finnish lacks one dimension of the associations: collective usage. Their receptive linguistic competence was acquired from parents and older people speaking Tornedalen Finnish which was seldom addressed to the children. This process produced a barrier to being active participants in the collective practice, but conscious subjects who stand apart from the bilingual group. They acquired Tornedalen Finnish as an impoverished spontaneous language alienated from collective history, and were forced to create a new linguistic basis, and a new mirror of collective history. They could not be participants in the same subsystem of attitudes, values, jokes, stories, emotions, etc.

A similar feeling of linguistic alienation can be experienced when learning another foreign language, although the speaker's analytical competence may be far beyond the level of competence in a scarcely acquired oral language. After several years in the school setting pupils can mostly reach a high level of proficiency in the analytical habits of reading and writing, but lack fluency in speech. They feel their linguistic

identity as a social role, distanced from their personality expressed in their mother tongue. When speaking the foreign language can be felt as a mechanized language, detached from emotions and with feelings of insecurity, uneasiness and lowered self confidence.

Young people, however, have weak access to receptive understanding of Tornedalen Finnish, the prerequisite for relations with older people. They respond in Swedish, and are mostly addressed in Swedish, although the conversation can be in Tornedalen Finnish between the parents and friends. The private field can therefore be bilingual with different forms of competence. People change languages simultaneously and most people can be participants in the community if at least a receptive vocabulary exists in Tornedalen Finnish.

In private life Tornedalians use more Swedish loan words than they do in public speech. Almost all kinds of loan words are accepted at home, except in the core vocabulary of functional words, pronouns, names for parts of the body, common and frequent nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, concrete terms for nature, etc. (Winsa 1991:191ff.). Roughly speaking the number of loanwords used correlates with age, and is predicted by the context bound and context free modes of speech. In free everyday communication young Tornedalians use the "right" Tornedalen Finnish words, or "wrong" Swedish loan words, despite the fact that they may have the proficiency to use either Tornedalen Finnish or Swedish vocabulary in a given domain. This casual speech with increased frequency of code switching in private domains among bilinguals is common in all linguistic minorities (e.g. Weinreich 1970:81; Solé 1978:33; Boyd 1985:172). This phenomenon employs the principle of least effort in relation to the principle of consistency (Boyd 1985:165).

The most fluent speech is in the use of the core vocabulary where the concepts are unchanging, frequent, and independent of a particular milieu. They are applied in all kind of settings, but are also context bound as markers of habit in the mother tongue. Finnish is valued according to the use of the core vocabulary. If these words are loan words then it is no longer Finnish; this is a fairly common opinion in the Torne Valley. But the number of loans is already high and therefore the mixing of languages has been called gibberish, often by Tornedalians themselves. They may fairly often use sentences with no original Finnish words — like *lastipiili furdraa översyyniä* 'the lorry requires an overhaul' (in Swedish *lastbilen fordrar översyn*) — but still the pronunciation and cases are in Finnish. Sometimes the new language form is called the *i*-language, because Swedish loans ending with a consonant are borrowed and adapted into the Finnish structure with the vowel *i* at the end of the word, e.g. *piili* 'car', *overheadi* 'overhead', *daatturi* 'computer', etc.

When people are unconscious of what language they are speaking, and how they speak, they are also unaware of prestige forms. For instance it has been noticed that bilinguals can often recall the content of a conversation without being able to remember what language they used (Swigart 1992:98; Weinreich 1970:69; Grosjean 1982:150). Analogously, bilinguals have a tendency to ignore the words of other speakers and remember only the content (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:110). If they are not aware of their own or other people's code switching it is an indication of their weak interest in creating a particular impression of prestige through linguistic forms, although prestige forms can be used and understood subconsciously.

Working class people in general, e.g. in the inner city of Belfast, have a tendency to ignore status speech and prefer their ingroup linguistic behaviour although it is under pressure from a high prestige variety. Thus they should make less — or perhaps reversed — hierarchical valuations of ingroup speech than middle and upper class and middle aged people in general (Milroy et al. 1985:58). Even the age of the speaker correlates with frequency of prestige features. Stylistic variation and use of high prestige forms are low in childhood and increase up to middle age when the prestige forms are most often adopted and then slowly diminish in later years as a person's social status becomes relatively fixed; this is claimed to be especially characteristic of the working class (Cheshire 1987:762). Ingroup low prestige features are most common at younger ages and later in life. This may be because older people have come to accept their social position; or have perhaps acquired a negative attitude towards upward mobility and use their low valued casual speech without thinking about its value; or as a protest. In particular people older than 70 are claimed to be more tolerant towards regional accents. In the Torne valley it is therefore more common to find older people who do not even try to avoid having a Finnish accent, or no more than they can easily manage.

The need to compete grows when social ambitions become more important then vanish with aging. Another reason is probably that older people project less self interest onto speech forms and explicit reasoning. It is analogous with their greater indifference to appearance in dressing. The use of linguistic forms is obviously strongly linked to social identity, competition and social mobility and reflects a general personality trait.

An obvious reason why children and young people use more low prestige forms is that they have lower awareness of prestige and have not yet discovered the social evaluation of different varieties and the importance of linguistic roles. Teenagers grow up in the particular linguistic environment and become strongly influenced by the pressure of group mentality. However, once teenage boys discover the broader context of prestige features they may have ambiguous linguistic attitudes. Females on the other hand tend to reflect overt prestige features in their attitudes.

Some linguists argue that members of a preliterate society have a tendency not to judge different varieties in the same community as better or worse, but according to clearness and effectiveness; complaints about correctness are typically found in communities that have highly developed Standard languages (Milroy et al. 1985:48). This can be explained by the fact that the illiterate culture generally lacks valuations of different varieties, despite the explicit knowledge that one's own speech is hierarchically valued within the group through different age groups and in relation to other linguistic groups. One cannot make value judgements on a general level if one is unable to make conscious choices between different structures. Instead, the values are probably judged at the individual level. Some individuals possess high prestige and are commonly regarded as trustworthy and respected. Hence their speech will predict linguistic practice and become partly normative. Adults in the private domain consequently have considerably fewer hierarchical valuations of other's expressions than a heterogeneous, literate and monolingual group has.

In spontaneous expression the speaker mainly focuses on the content of what he wants to say. The form of the language comes intuitively, as if by itself. The most

obvious case of expressing content without controlling the form is probably found in affective speech (Weinreich 1970:60). Tornedalians argue that they code switch more in anger. The underlying variety becomes more obvious as an accent when the speaker is affected, no matter whether the speaker is a bilingual or a monolingual with two varieties (Gal 1979:9ff.). Even fluent speakers of a mother tongue will show discrepancies between normal unaffected and affected speech. When the language becomes permeated with emotion the speaker loses his conscious control of the form, or in other words loses his self monitoring control and thus conscious attention: we can say that the affected person is focused on the emotion. Hence spontaneous speech is also more interwoven with emotions compared with formal speech.

The language on these occasions is understood as a tool for transferring information. The listener is a friend, family member, or one who speaks and understands in a similar way to the speaker. The precondition for lessened self awareness is a similar cultural background and mutual secure feelings. When there are differences the individual pays attention to his speech and is able to judge himself in relation to the other person and reveal his belonging to a group (cf. Bauman 1990:38).

Loans in informal speech

The Swedish Torne Valley is immersed in Swedish in school, newspapers, radio, television, and the whole public field. Tornedalen Finnish exists as a small language island, never taught in school as a compulsory subject, hardly ever spoken by middle class people in the public domain, and slowly vanishing under the pressure of the dominant language. Tornedalen Finnish possesses low status because of the fact that it is forced to be used in private domains. In a study of 48 minority regions within the EU a clear correspondence was revealed between linguistic status, institutional support, and the vitality of the minority language (Nelde et al. 1996). Swedish possesses higher prestige because of its majority position and institutional support. Therefore Swedish loans are allowed and pour into Tornedalen Finnish, but not vice versa, as a reflection of the particular habitualized linguistic behaviour. However, the fact that Tornedalians mostly have well developed mastery of Swedish, used in nearly every domain, also influences the number of loan words. Spontaneous speech in Swedish does not require the same number of Finnish loans. For the opposite reason Tornedalians use Swedish loans such as *sprookki* 'language', *plandata* 'mix', *jaakata* 'hunt', *svoori* 'difficult', *gongstiigi* 'footpath', *plumma* 'flower', etc.; nevertheless they know the "right" Tornedalen Finnish words. This has the effect that when a Swedish loan gains conscious recognition and becomes an accepted habit the equivalent Finnish word will fall out of use after a relatively short time, because that word is consciously suppressed. The number of associations will predict the word's resistance.

Free borrowing has become an established habit. Tornedalians from childhood to adulthood have followed the rule that they can borrow in one direction but not the other. The context is acquired with frequent use of loans, and triggers the use of loans in a familiar situation. The cause for the borrowing is probably comparable with other physical responses such as gestures, facial expressions and other types of body language; they are uncontrolled reactions to external stimulus. This habit is a norm of its own.

The spontaneous mixing of languages has established a norm for comfortable speech and understanding and constructs a new "language" out of two. This explains why many Tornedalians claim that if possible they prefer to speak Tornedalen Finnish or both languages at the same time. Many argue that they feel uneasy and tense when forced to speak only Swedish or "pure" Tornedalen Finnish without mixing. There are some common jokes that metaphorically and sometimes literally describe the uncomfortable feeling of using self monitored language: they get a pain in the back, or in the corners of their own mouth by speaking Swedish, and feel often that they are translating from Tornedalen Finnish to Swedish. Hence these attitudes reflect the lack of relaxed expression and the emotional stress that occurs when the contact with the familiar milieu is broken. Similar feelings emerge when they are requested to speak "pure" Tornedalen Finnish.

> "Your backbone aches when you speak Swedish." (Common saying in Kainulasjärvi.)
>
> "It aches in the corners of your mouth when you must speak Swedish." (Male, 75 years, Matarenki.)

Casual Tornedalen Finnish has varying levels of mixing. An analogous example is found in the extinct Gaelic in parts of Scotland. When Gaelic was sporadically a subject of instruction in Scotland the inhabitants and native Gaelic-speaking pupils gained the opportunity to study their own language. But this created a previously unknown problem for them, because the teachers had learned the "proper" form of Gaelic with less code switching and lower frequency of English loan words, and consequently a difference emerged between the teachers' and the pupils' Gaelic. The teachers' speech was the "right" norm — even though it could be a second language for them — and the natives' language once again had low prestige. They were often corrected by the teacher: "That is not correct Gaelic", they were told in English. The pupils were alienated from their own language, and hence few persevered with the language courses. The same phenomenon emerged in the Torne Valley when home language instruction was established. The pupils felt a great discrepancy between the spoken and the taught language. Alienation in Scotland was felt when speaking a strongly divergent "Standard" Gaelic. The pupils felt unnatural and strained in that language (Dorian 1981:89). They could adopt the Standard form of Gaelic for play acting purposes for a short time, but felt uncomfortable with it in private settings. A similar experience with Standard English has been noticed among black American children: they could speak as they were expected to do in plays in school, but otherwise only used Afro American Vernacular English. This discrepancy between oral and Standard languages was one reason why Tornedalen Finnish became a language of instruction.

This habit of mixing languages should not be confused with the idea of solidarity within the ingroup's norms of linguistic behaviour. Instead it is given as the reason for the feeling of being ridiculous. The same phenomenon occurs when a Tornedalian speaks Swedish with someone with whom he normally uses Tornedalen Finnish. It is a question of habits, and the feeling of alienation that deviations from the habit cause. Solidarity for the minority is a conscious act; alienation is an immediate feeling of not recognizing the linguistic environment.

Emotions in Tornedalen Finnish

Spontaneous speech expresses emotions. One reflection of this is the often repeated idea among informants that Tornedalen Finnish should be used to tell jokes, otherwise the jokes lose their point. This has been noticed in other minority languages as well (Dorian 1981:78; Winford 1976:60; Trudgill 1983:131, 134). Bilinguals quickly discover their inability to translate jokes and stories. Even if the words are objectively right the humour is still absent. The reason for this lies in the fact that in jokes in the mother tongue the words are inseparable from their concepts, whereas deliberate translation has established a subject–object relationship and thus broken the access to feelings. The appropriate mutual subsystem of attitudes, emotions, perceptions, prejudices, preconceptions and associations constitutes the cultural background as an experienced wholeness which produces the comprehension of a joke. T. S. Eliot described this by saying "It is easier to think in a foreign language than it is to feel in it" (Eliot 1957:18).

A conscious analysis of the humour in a joke will prevent instant laughter, in the same way that arts, imaginative literature and music awaken immediate feelings without their being consciously analysed. Without mutual understanding of attitudes, traditions, ideas and associations there will be no joke.

Many people have noticed the emptiness of associations and emotions in a second language. Even when the words are well known in an objective sense they still lack part of the colour that comes from personal history. This is more noticeable when one makes love, swears, is angry or prays, as many Finns in Sweden claim. This is easily seen when using taboo words, e.g. sexual terminology and swearwords (Andersson 1992:47ff.). In the mother tongue there is always a strong tendency in public life to use euphemisms by using words without certain undesirable associations for common concepts in order to avoid the emotional impact of the words, i.e. to keep the general meaning and exclude the intended specific one: "wash the hands" or "bathroom", "restroom," etc. The words are transformed into unaffected metaphors with a covered and codified social meaning. The analytical mind reflects their social meaning and avoids improper associations. In private life the taboo words are sometimes used deliberately, especially by teenagers to shock; children like to use the words because they have noticed the tense atmosphere surrounding these kinds of words.

Emotional involvement perhaps becomes included in the new language if there is no former comparable experience, e.g. falling in love for the first time produces tensed words in the second language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:55). There is thus no disharmony between present and past, due to the absence of linguistic structure in this domain.

This active private speech is a cornerstone of spontaneous reasoning. But its use requires confidence in one's own spontaneous language competence; without this talent no novelist could write and no comic could make up jokes. The underlying implicit competence and explicit performance should therefore be almost equal. To think spontaneously is metaphorically to paint mental images in words. The picture cannot be detached from the paint brush. If one uses the language as an object it is exposed to one's own and others' valuations, and the paint brush is separated from the picture. One chooses colours for their social value, and not to make a clearer picture.

Consequently social awareness of speech forms inhibits the subsystem of speech. It is common, for instance, that interviewers try to get access to the speaker's implicit linguistic competence in an interview by using explicit questioning. But if the interviewer asks directly about proverbs, unusual words and stories, for example, the teller has weak competence in using them. The question itself presupposes that he has explicit and thus context free knowledge of all the linguistic competence he possesses. On the other hand, the stories and proverbs can flow if the interviewee is allowed to lessen his self awareness and let his spontaneous speech emerge, triggered by contextual associations and responses to external or internal stimuli. The storytelling and the use of implicit competence must to some extent be their own end before the spontaneous associations will arise. It is merely the context free and denotative character of the words which is lacking in the weakly literate. Older people can generally speak more easily because of their lesser self awareness and willingness to speak more for their own pleasure than to satisfy a hopeful interviewer. The psychological processes involved are perhaps analogous with some aphasics who cannot speak or perform physical actions on command. A typical situation is when the aphasic cannot say "no" on request, but can a minute later say: "I can't say 'no'!" The intentional act demands conscious control of form.

The informal community

Mutual understanding and neglect of social prestige features are typical characteristics of everyday conversations among friends, equals, in private life and inside the family, "where the interlocutors are not so concerned about their images", as Boyd puts it (1985:172). Within a homogeneous group in everyday life language is not stigmatized, or it is not thought of as such, and thus speakers in a bilingual community are free to use code switching and loan words. These are only one aspect and consequence of implicit reasoning. Hence it can be argued that informal language is closer to its precise ideal meaning of a spoken language as a tool to pass on explicit information and nothing more (although this oral form is impoverished as a means of transmitting context reduced knowledge). But it must be interpreted implicitly in everyday speech, i.e. one must exclude its explicit meaning as long as it is not an intentional act which aims to transmit a structure of experiences which the listener does not possess.

Individuals are not judged on personality from the way they speak, as long as they follow commonly shared basic subconscious rules that form their shared cultural background. In the ideal situation both participants are equal in social identity and both aim consciously and subconsciously to share knowledge which should be understood in the same way. If they believe in this idea they can behave with linguistic confidence: the basic everyday feeling is in harmony with the environment. However, the imagined ideal is only a fiction; every individual has certain proportions of subconscious and conscious intentions which go beyond the explicit information. But if the imagined ideal exists it has a given and important social function for the striving for complete mutuality.

One can automatically recognize and identify others as being "one of the group", or *meikäläinen* as it is called in Tornedalen Finnish. If someone with familiar linguistic behaviour starts to talk differently from the others, or from the way he normally does,

then his speech differs from the everyday norm. Personal identity — for many defined as attention to particular features that the individual will emphasize and so exclude others — is strongly associated with linguistic behaviour; thus deviations from normal behaviour are noticed and judged from the perspective of the group's attitudes to particular languages, and from the shared background with mainly subconscious rules. For instance when a person leaves the community and comes into contact with other language varieties in different settings his speech will change. When he returns he still basically speaks the same local variety without being conscious of the differences, though others notice. Hence the differences focus attention. This is probably analogous with studies where one can easily detect a digit from a string of letters, but not a particular digit from other digits (Kahneman et al. 1984). Automatic recognition focuses only on the differences, but every sound is still perceived without deliberate awareness.

The basic principle controlling what kind of information reaches conscious attention is defined as the collision of action centred structures with external models; every deviation requires a reconstruction of the spontaneous structures and the relationship becomes conscious because the spontaneous adaptation does not work. When external and internal structures are similar, conscious attention is avoided. This principle was commonly applied by Piaget and Vygotsky, for example, in order to explain a child's growth of consciousness (Vygotsky 1992:45ff., 163ff.). Every new event, which has no corresponding action centred structure, raises consciousness. The same rule can be applied to the adult's relationship to his environment. It should imply that thinking processes spontaneous concepts implicitly within those domains where automatic integration has occurred. Conscious concepts arise from deviations.

The ingroup's attitudes towards particular linguistic features and languages are governed by their general status and by how strongly covert prestige forms part of the ingroup's identity. If there were no hierarchical differences in attitudes between languages, and if there were no differences in attitudes between spontaneous and monitored speech forms, then there would not be any value in linguistic behaviour that differs from everyday speech. As minority language speakers — in this particular study, but also in general — have low social diversification because of the lack of institutional support, they have little hierarchical order, and can therefore implicitly demand and expect the same from others in the group: individuals should not try to maintain linguistic behaviour different from the way they normally speak. The person within the group with deviant speech will easily be judged as a pretender and a fake, a linguistic dissembler: "He was little bit of a pretender; the one who always insisted on Swedish," is a phrase often heard in the Torne Valley, especially among older people. It is quite common for Tornedalian students to drop their Finnish when they go to university: "I asked him what school he had been to. It must been a damned good school when he had forgotten all his Finnish at once. He was truly well educated", said one man in Matarenki.

This impression emerges from analogies with speakers' own feelings of being ridiculous when speaking a language variety that is not effortless. This form of communication no longer reflects values from the ingroup's perspective, but has other implicit purposes. The speech form will be especially noticed if the speaker follows explicit structures in his speech.

The illiterate listener cannot be aware of which aspects of speech give a particular impression, but only of the speech as a whole and of particular words. Habitual linguistic structures are compared subconsciously with the present speech of the speaker. If it deviates, the person is not "one of the group" although he normally would be, and part of comprehension is lost, and thus the harmony between past and present is lost. The new situation is thought of as alienation if it is a stranger who deviates; but anger, disgust, jealousy or other similar emotions are felt if it is a person from within the group who normally mirrors their own attitudes towards different varieties. These feelings are linked to attitudes about which position in the ranking order the deviation belongs to, and which position the group has in the social ranking of languages. The ranking order of the deviant speech form predicts the form of emotions. Different reactions such as laughter, excitement, indulgence or indifference can occur, depending on the particular prestige of the variety.

That relationships are governed by status is well known in psychology and sociology: "Feeling, to a large extent, determines status, and status (to a lesser extent) also determines feeling . . . When two people come together in a face-to-face relationship, a conscious or unconscious sizing up process ensues . . . It is influenced by the immediate psycho-social situation, and by such cultural elements as clothes, wealth, reputation, social position, etc." (Maslow 1973:54). In other words, we cannot avoid judging people from their appearance. In psychology, however, the importance of instant recognition of the other person's language has been neglected.

The deliberate decision to switch to another variety as a deviation from normal behaviour is governed by prestige. It is seldom that a lower prestige variety is chosen. The form chosen in everyday speech is likely to possess higher prestige, and hence the person is labelled proud and snobbish by the ingroup, because of the hierarchical attitudes to each particular language variety and the feeling that linguistic behaviour is an indication of personality. Hierarchical valuation is present in all minority and majority languages. Swedish is felt to be superior to Tornedalen Finnish, and the person choosing to speak Swedish is perceived as feeling superior to the minority. He is therefore given negative labels in a defensive manner, partly with the purpose of disguising accepted attitudes of the superiority–inferiority relationship, and partly from jealousy among members of the lower valued group.

The linguistic pretender is judged by his attempts to achieve membership of a more prestigious group, because he has explicitly accepted the outgroup's evaluation of the linguistic minority and tries to deny the fact that he is a member of the minority group. This kind of labelling is partly a reflection of conscious solidarity with and pride in the particular group, and resistance to outgroup attitudes.

Informal and formal language

In everyday speech we use the words "heart" and "spirit" when people are passionate and emotional in their speech, whereas the analytical and "objectified" approach is seen as the language of the "mind".

Possibly the most extreme form of analytical use of language occurs in language learning when the pupils apply learned grammatical forms to their spoken language. They first learn the general forms and rules and then try to apply them to their own

language. The most extreme form of the heart's language, by contrast, is "spoken" by babies and found in good poetry, music and literature, i.e. in all kinds of creative, innovative, novel and artistic forms. This distinction between two forms of thinking has long been well known among authors. For instance, the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies claimed, in the nineteenth century, that natural thinking — in contrast to rational thinking — was mostly used by farmers, women, artists and geniuses (Tönnies 1887:249, 265).

Creative speech, listening, writing or reading can be defined as a lack of distance between the language as an object and the subject. A spontaneous act is by definition without involvement of a conscious monitor, and for that reason it is the voice of the heart.

By contrast the non-creative act has a reducing filter of conscious awareness that governs information in production and comprehension. To be creative is, from this perspective, to be naive during the flow of the unconscious mind, and afterwards to be able to analyze its output. In psychological terms the filter is the socialized personality, or the generalized Other, that values information in relation to sources other than his own immediate experiences.

The language norms and the grammar in the informal mode have been accumulated for generations within the group, spontaneously and subconsciously understood, and intertwined with emotions. To remember and retell one's own history with the same language as it was experienced in will also evoke forgotten emotions and also sense memories such as smell, pain and taste.

Personal history is part of the spoken language and, once again, personal identity is associated with language. This is probably the reason why few authors have written in a second language: they have problems in retelling stories and creating new ones in a language that lacks great networks of associations and emotions. They have great problems using proverbs, phrases, sayings, traditions, natural dialogue, etc., in their right context because they lack experience of their contexts, and because oral traditions are absent. They miss the spontaneous link between language and experienced reality. Authors' creativity in writing is defined as intuitive reflection, a mode of thinking that is subordinated to perception and is analogous with the child's way of reasoning (Piaget 1988:40); in other words the use of the adult's practical intelligence where the individual strives to describe the wholeness of individual structures of practice that are interwoven with events and feelings. Every successful author uses the resonances of his personal history as the source for his writing, i.e. based on the totality of lived and living immediate experiences, as a hermeneutist probably would put it (Dilthey 1977:4ff.). What is seemingly trivial everyday knowledge becomes essential when it is seen from the right perspective. A single emotion or experiences can be seen creatively with an intensified light.

Distanced reasoning is the opposite of creativity; it is the greatest internal examiner and censor because of its strong dependence on a group's public values. But also because it has no basis of its own for discoveries and inventions, it is structured by external knowledge. Experienced reality is the basis for intuitive and creative thinking and for that reason emotional and moral life and intelligence are united.

Some linguists and educators have also observed the similarities between adults' implicit and spontaneous reasoning and children's speech; e.g. Bernstein argued that the

child's language is comparable with the restricted code of the working class. The author uses the restricted code elaborated to an artistic form. This is in fact what many authors claim, that their experiences cannot be detached from their books; in other words that their reasoning is strongly context bound (e.g. Eliot 1957:95).

However, even lack of emotional involvement is emotional from one perspective. Many Tornedalians feel that they must speak Swedish in many public situations in order to feel comfortable, although they normally speak Tornedalen Finnish with the same people. A well known example is that of local teachers who can speak fluent Tornedalen Finnish, but never do so inside the school building. This stems from a feeling for appropriate linguistic behaviour and not from a lack of emotional involvement. One obvious reason for this is lack of metalinguistic awareness in Tornedalen Finnish and therefore lack of self confidence in public, lack of proper Tornedalen Finnish vocabulary, and social awareness that Tornedalen Finnish is a low prestige variety. Using Tornedalen Finnish in public causes the emotional response of raised self consciousness and more restrained feelings.

Formal speech

One main characteristic of formal speech is the associated high prestige. The formal mode is claimed to be liberated from personal experiences and relies on a context free form of reasoning. A highly literate person is therefore more able to use the context free form.

However, a distinction between implicit and explicit reasoning and their consequences for speech behaviour should be discussed. To avoid confusion in terminology we may think of formal speech as variations in technical skill, by analogy with other similar skills, e.g. a musician's technical competence.

The main feature of inadequately mastered formal speech is lack of spontaneity; it is mainly a planned and conscious act, which requires a high degree of self monitoring. This focus on both form and content requires a divided mind that focuses attention on prestige forms and on content: attention to form compares the possible expression with explicit prestige features and corrects when needed, and there is also general attention to content. This is the reason it is said that when one tries to speak better one speaks worse, because the speaker tries to use both implicit and explicit competences simultaneously. It leads to the consequence that speech becomes distanced from its content and consciousness observes the utterance as a "listener"; whereas the other part of the mind must focus attention on content. This is one reason why lectures and other forms of public speeches are performed by reading directly from a manuscript. The control over content is partly lost when the speaker must use metalinguistic awareness to control the form.

A hierarchical order between formal and informal Tornedalen Finnish is slowly emerging in the Torne Valley when the local language is now more frequently used in public life and in reading and writing. The magazine *Met-aviisi* — partly written in Tornedalen Finnish — is tending to become increasingly puristic. Earlier the prestigious old form of Finnish was spoken in religious meetings, the only deliberate diglossic use of Tornedalen Finnish.

If a Tornedalian used only the vocabulary which is regarded as Tornedalen Finnish, he would be forced to monitor his speech carefully, and consciousness would be focused on himself. This act results in a contrary way of thinking: the speech would be structured through the filter of Standard Finnish, or ideas about Tornedalen Finnish in public life. The general form of Standard Finnish would be applied to the context bound form.

Breaking the habit of mixing languages amplifies self monitoring and feelings of uneasiness. Hence spontaneous speech would be suppressed, as well as casual collective practice and the associations which are the prerequisites of speech in Tornedalen Finnish. The conversation would not be as enjoyable, relaxed, stimulating or exciting. Speakers would lose the contact with the dialogue and the subconscious mutual understanding which constitute the spirit of the community.

In Piaget's terms we can describe the weak mastery of formal speech as knowledge that is untransformed to practice. The speech lacks contact with internalized structures of action and is comparable with theoretical knowledge of any particular practice.

The formal mode of speech is used, for example, in interviews with a tape recorder, when a Tornedalian speaks with monolingual Finns, or when he studies Standard Finnish at university. Well educated people have internalized modes of formal speech almost to the spontaneous level, or at least an instant ability to speak in a different mode from the one they use in private life. They have a broader linguistic repertoire and a multiplicity of social identities, whereas manual workers have an only partly integrated mastery of formal speech.

A collective implicit and unspoken demand requires that speakers cannot use all kinds of loan words in a bilingual society, or particular varieties in a monolingual context when speaking in public. They must monitor speech and sift out features which are poorly valued. Proper public talk requires a closer relation to the Standard language; or — in the Torne Valley setting — at least the understanding of proper Tornedalen Finnish of the older generation's linguistic practice. Even in contacts with a monolingual -- e.g. a Finn who is not a member of the ingroup —Tornedalians strive to limit interference and to eliminate even habitualized borrowings from their speech.

In comparison with private speech, formal speech requires awareness and differentiation of prestigious forms from low status forms. The spontaneous form of language is compared with the knowledge of appropriate norms. These two ways of expression compete, and as long as the imprinted norms are stigmatized, the local speech will be avoided, because the speaker believes, and often knows from his own experiences, that his identity and his social status are valued as much from the form as from the content (Lambert 1972:348). Very few want to be judged as peasants from their linguistic appearance. Self awareness creates a new form of understanding of what can be told and social meaning is included in the form.

Whenever the difference between formal and informal speech emerges there will be awareness of the right form, but the less difference there is between the two competing norms, the less self conscious speech will become. For as long as Tornedalen Finnish has been thought of as a dialect of Standard Finnish, a large discrepancy has existed between these two spoken forms. This caused huge problems in speaking in public. When Tornedalen Finnish became thought of as a language, the difference became less.

However, it is hard for Tornedalians to imagine an EU debate in Tornedalen Finnish; the idea would be thought funny, as a reflection of attitudes towards the non-"real" Finnish. The public linguistic register in Tornedalen Finnish is restricted and consequently Tornedalians' public roles are limited. Illiterate people do not have access to a multiplicity of linguistic identities, due to the fact that they have restricted metalinguistic competence. This discrepancy forces manual workers to keep to their poorly valued form. Role conflict for workers emerges when they have social awareness of linguistic values but lack the competence to change their linguistic identity.

Swedish is acquired in school and through radio, television, newspapers, books, and all kinds of public life. From these sources monolinguals receive models of how to speak in public, and can gradually integrate them from the premeditated or self monitored mode into the spontaneous general level which nevertheless still requires awareness of form. The children of well educated people especially have a social background of various degrees of formal language acquired through the generally closer similarities to formal speech of their parents and the higher exposition of formal speech. Bourdieu defines the ability to speak in the right manner and use a broad stylistic register as socially constituted through early immersion in the context (Bourdieu 1990b:109).

Another difference between monolingual Swedes, Finns and bilingual Tornedalians is that the monolinguals all have good proficiency in reading, and therefore have word images of the "correct" form available. A literate person can find the right form when writing and speaking. Text is probably the highest authority for normative public speech and produces a linguistic awareness which is far beyond the barely literate. The lack of developed competence in reading is also a lack of ability to produce word images. This is one reason why Tornedalians argue that they speak Standard Swedish. Earlier they had no variations in their Swedish. The only acquired form was the one spoken in school, although with a strong Finnish accent.

A clear mental word image leaves a choice between informal and formal differences, and also provides the possibility of choosing the right form, whereas several sound images, generally without a hierarchy, bring confusion and a tendency to be muddled in expression. A well known feature of spoken languages is their great variety in form. There is no right form other than comprehensibility. There cannot be any underlying original form in a spoken language.

Many words differ slightly from village to village. Often Tornedalians argue that they are not aware of any "correct" form of words, but when they hear a new word and understand its meaning from the context they copy the word and use pronunciations similar to what they heard. Formal competence produces explicit knowledge of grammar which can be applied to the speaker's own speech, whereas Tornedalians must to a large extent rely on their intuitive grammatical competence and have meagre explicit knowledge of how the words can be used. The spontaneous speech of Tornedalians is competent, but their explicit linguistic knowledge is far below their practical competence.

Functional illiteracy in Tornedalen Finnish forces greater attention to content, because there are no definitive rules on how to use new words. No-one has the

confidence to know the correct grammar, so that grammar and pronunciation are mainly used intuitively. Therefore an illiterate person seeks to avoid formal situations.

For Tornedalians the models of how to speak Tornedalen Finnish in public life are taken from Finnish television, which they can see all over the area, or from the Tornedalen Finnish which is used in local radio broadcasting. However, this is far from sufficient to develop the linguistic registers needed for use in public life. Tornedalians can recognize some Finland Finnish linguistic forms such as frequent words and some particular frequent phonological features, but cannot express themselves in the same mode. Their receptive competence is far beyond their active competence.

We can probably not exclude the type of work done from the style of speech used. The influence of particular types of work may partly explain the greater linguistic variations among workers and why linguistic uniformity is more common among well educated people. Practical workers search in their practice to reach the underlying structures of their own actions, because it develops their professionalism. The spontaneous action establishes its own habit due to the fact that it is an advantage to internalize new explicit structures for action to the implicit level. If we assume that linguistic action cannot be distinguished from other forms of action, and is hence part of a general cognitive skill, it follows that explicit models of reasoning in every kind of action are suppressed. The speech forms of practical workers may therefore be a direct reflection of their way of reasoning and their behaviour in general. Well educated people work in another way and develop explicit reasoning and produce many theoretical frameworks, and thereby finds it easier to speak formally. However, this should imply that the well educated suppress the implicit structures and should therefore have greater problems in speaking spontaneously compared with practical workers. They therefore speak in a mode which reflects their social context. There is some anecdotal evidence for this assumption: it is fairly common for blue-collar workers, for example, to argue that well educated people have great difficulty in being relaxed and spontaneous, i.e. that they tend to be uptight and formal even in informal settings.

The explicit and implicit structures of thought establish two competing linguistic structures. The type of formal speech which possesses the highest prestige is felt to be the most appropriate in particular situations. The individual's linguistic practice will thus be governed by external demands. This access to social awareness of linguistic forms may result in a loss and a distrust of the spontaneous context bound structures and an increased confidence in explicit reasoning. The speaker has access to choices and searches for the most valued linguistic behaviour, and hence loses his self confidence in the formal structure as well, due to the forced and untrained conscious hesitation in speech. In other words, the loss of confidence is replaced by a feeling of tenseness that represses spontaneous thinking (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984:83–4).

Self monitoring can be described as an awareness of the ongoing present speech, a consciousness which in itself requires hesitation and focusing on form. The speaker is able to detach himself as a subject from his speech and compare it with an ideal norm.

Every Tornedalian certainly knows, however, that he can only actively produce fragments of "real" Finnish. This awareness produces an uncomfortable and insecure feeling. Due to the forced and involuntary monitoring of form and conscious rules, the speaker tends to become tongue-tied. Where public Tornedalen Finnish is required,

speech is mainly replaced with silence and withdrawal. It is a defence, to protect the stigmatized forms.

These two forms of reasoning and ways of expressing themselves are described by many bilinguals as two different personalities (Grosjean 1982:281ff.). Therefore a well educated person can have access to a multitude of social identities. The social role constitutes itself out of external imagined expectations and thus becomes reflective, alienated and distanced from the spontaneously acting, emotional and experiencing personality. The social role is visible in the use of formal language features due to its need to mirror the expectations of a generalized Other. The formal mode reflects this generalized Other. Linguistic performance does not reflect linguistic competence.

Language styles and social identities

Speakers who try to use the Standard forms imagine that their personality will be valued differently, more positively, if they use them. This linguistic projection apparently does not differ from other forms of projection. We can find similar projections especially among adolescents who have an obvious strong need of role models. They imitate their role models in speech, clothing, manners, way of living, friends, etc., until the role models are internalized. These projections are used to stimulate social mobility and gain membership of a more prestigious group. When the social concepts are internalized the person's confidence increases and he has a better possibility of achieving his ambitions. But these acts of internalization develop a habitualized sensitivity to group influences on thinking and behaviour. Language behaviour will be directly linked to the values of the prestigious group. The internalized role models constitute the nucleus of one's imaginings and expectations.

Linguistic prestige markers are probably only one aspect of other social values such as the desire to establish status through objects: car, title, house, travel, etc. — anything that a person wants that others may consider valuable in order to be recognized. Villagers, who are hunters, thus use elkhorns, dogs and rifles as group identity markers and have social relationships only in those groups where these objects are given a social value which goes beyond their objective value. A new member of the group must accept the values of the group in order to be accepted, otherwise the social concepts lose their meaning and the social hierarchy will be meaningless. This is merely one part of our self deceptions. The imagined model of oneself is the concept of the generalized Other as a group or an individual.

We can therefore postulate that prestige phonemes are just another aspect of more common stereotypes: a normative phoneme is the basis for ideology in linguistics. The ideology may proceed from the idea that the phoneme has an innate existence as a concept, or that it is culturally defined and has no hierarchical valuation — both are ideologies which serve social functions. It is given meaning and value in the particular paradigm where it is used (Gee 1990:174ff.). It is defined in relation to what it is not, i.e. the working class in general uses variants of the Standard. Furthermore, as a particular phoneme has no meaning of its own one must search for its ideal in concrete reality. Geographically the ideal phonemes are situated in larger cities and especially in the language of the capital and the language of television. But this is the phoneme as a social concept of an identity marker, and thus its implicit meaning has been given an

explicit new meaning. However, this will not have the result that the implicit meaning of the phoneme will vanish, but a new implicit meaning is instantly established when the phoneme is used explicitly in a new context. Furthermore, if we created a new explicit meaning from the implicit meaning in a superior use of the phoneme, then a new implicit meaning would emerge. And so on endlessly. This includes all words which are taken from their social network and given new meaning in a new social context. The only solution is to return to their everyday meaning.

Notes

[1] Finnish spelling rules reflect the length of the phonemes. For example, a long vowel is written with two letters: *huutaa* 'shout' is pronounced with long *u* and *a* vowels. Swedish spelling rules differ from Finnish rules. Long and short vowels are written with one letter: *vara* 'be' is pronounced with a long first vowel and a short second vowel.

CHAPTER 10

THE FUTURE OF TORNEDALEN FINNISH

Summary of issues

Tornedalen Finnish is a Finnish variety spoken by an estimated 20 000–35 000 people in the northern part of Sweden, along the Finnish border. It has been the dominant language in the Torne Valley Finnish since the early Middle Ages. Its roots can be traced back 900 years to Western and Eastern Finland.

A good indicator of the status of the three sub-varieties of Tornedalen Finnish is who corrects whom. Gällivare Finnish speakers seldom correct anyone, i.e. it has the lowest status; whereas Vittanki Finnish speakers may correct Gällivare Finnish speakers but accept corrections given by Torne Valley Finnish speakers. The Standard Finnish spoken in Finland is the most prestigious language variety.

During this century until recent decades there was a distinct functional separation between Swedish and Finnish. Swedish was almost exclusively used as an official formal language, while Finnish was used in private domains and in traditional occupations such as farming, reindeer herding, forestry, hunting and fishing. The only domain where Finnish had an official position was in the regional Laestadianism religion and to some extent within the state church. Finnish was avoided in most official domains and for that reason had low status. The status of a language can be defined as its value for social mobility, and is therefore associated with identity. Linguistic prestige reflects the social hierarchy of the society. Consequently it can be argued that Tornedalians acquired low individual self esteem and poor collective identity as a result of the former discriminatory language policy because Finnish was not allowed in schools, and remained an oral language.

Cross-marriages between Tornedalian Finns and Finland Finns are still frequent, often with a predominance of Finnish females. In the 1960s up to 40 per cent of marriages in some villages were cross-marriages, and the wives were almost exclusively from Finland. One explanation was that the Swedish side of the Torne Valley had better economic conditions than the Finnish side and that females tend to be more sensitive to prestige. A common attitude in the Torne Valley was (and may still be) that it was more prestigious to marry a monolingual Swedish speaker than a bilingual. According to oral information Tornedalian females tended to marry monolingual males from Swedish-speaking areas. Another explanation for why females prefer cross-marriages and for their stronger tendency to leave the home area is that they had fewer opportunities to stay in the home village because by tradition they did not inherit the farm or the parents' property which in most cases were and are given to sons. However, the Finnish-speaking municipalities have slightly more emigration of females than other comparable rural areas. One possible explanation for the higher percentage of males in the Finnish-speaking region may be found in linguistic status. Females are perhaps more eager to leave linguistically low status environments.

The language shift from Tornedalen Finnish to Swedish began in the 1950s when a majority of parents started to speak only Swedish with their children. The first generation of children switched rather quickly to Finnish because that was the majority language among their older friends. But the age for the shift to Finnish grew quickly and Finnish was lost in private domains among children. In the 1960s the language shift accelerated and in Aapua, for instance, children born in 1966 did not shift to Finnish during the first six years in schools. Some of them shifted to Finnish in grades 7–9. This was especially typical for boys.

Since the 1960s the diglossic division in linguistic behaviour has begun to break down. People born at the end of the 1960s and later do not generally have active mastery of Finnish and mainly speak Swedish in private as well as in formal settings. The 1980s was the last decade when children in the lower and central parts of the Finnish-speaking area spoke Finnish in the playground. Today Finnish is only spoken in the playground in some villages close to the Finnish border in the very northern part of the Finnish-speaking area, and in Haparanda, which has a high percentage of Finnish immigrants.

One reason for the change in behaviour was the debate on alleged "semilingualism" among Tornedalians. This term is sometimes defined as "non-full hearted" language competence. The debate strengthened the negative attitudes towards Tornedalen Finnish. There was a widespread belief that children should not learn Finnish because it would later cause a mental handicap. Another important influence on attitudes was the much debated idea that bilingualism has a negative effect on IQ scores. However, monolingual Tornedalian boys today still achieve low scores in cognitive tests performed when entering army service.

Because of the absence of literacy in Tornedalen Finnish, the culture of the Torne Valley can be divided into two partly separate fields: an oral culture in Tornedalen Finnish and a literary culture in Swedish. We can assume that level of metalinguistic awareness correlates with degree of code switching and the use of loan words. An oral language should as such be more accepting towards loans compared with a literary language, and therefore have a greater division between conscious and spontaneous modes. The bilingual speaker of the oral language prefers to speak spontaneously in order to avoid self awareness and monitoring of the form of speech.

The awareness of the local culture was acquired and described through categories in Swedish which to a great extent do not exist or are not accessible in Tornedalen Finnish. The spontaneous culture, expressed in Tornedalen Finnish and through action, was less accessible in Swedish. We may therefore have two forms of understanding: one monitored, context reduced and explicit; and one spontaneous, context dependent and implicit.

This lack of literacy in the home language may leave an impact on cognitive abilities, on attitudes to the self and the group, and result in lowered self confidence. The lower IQ scores once alleged to be found among bilinguals may be explained from the perspective of weak metalinguistic awareness in the mother tongue. In addition, the alleged weaker cognitive capacity of today's monolingual Tornedalians can to some extent be explained from the perspective of linguistic traditions.

Another consequence of the alleged lower self esteem and poor collective identity among Tornedalians was that bilinguals were less eager to move and thus were more

likely to be unemployed. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the Finnish-speaking area have one of the highest rates of unemployment and ill health in Sweden. Therefore expenditure on public health services in the county of Norrbotten is often among the highest of all counties in Sweden. Economic aid for the unemployed has always been among the highest in Sweden. In the three border municipalities the percentage of people working in the public sector, i.e. in subsidized employment, is one of the highest in all rural municipalities. The proportion of social welfare payments in income per household is highest in the Finnish-speaking municipalities.

The discriminatory language policy previously enforced was principally based on a political desire for a united and homogeneous society, and neglected pedagogic and social consequences.

The language shift to Swedish was probably an adaptation to socio-economic development. During the 1950s traditional farming and forestry began to lose their economic importance and the urbanization process began in the Torne Valley. Tornedalen Finnish started to lose its traditional domains and the number of Swedish loan words grew rapidly in the new occupations. Many young people were forced to move away from the area and contacts with the majority culture and its values and attitudes grew rapidly as well. Tornedalians discovered that it was harder to find work if they had a Finnish surname. Thus in the 1950s a high percentage of Tornedalen Finnish speakers changed their surnames to Swedish ones. First names had already been changed during the first decades of the twentieth century.

If the minority reflects the poorly valued identity of the local culture and language it will also be reflected by politicians at the local, regional and national levels, although there may not be any obvious rationale for their political attitudes. By contrast, we can expect that if policy at local, regional and national levels is positive it will support a positively reinforced identity in the local culture. Therefore we have a division of attitudes that separates the Tornedalian minority from the majority culture. Tornedalians have accepted the Swedish-speaking majority's positive view of itself, and at the same time adopted the negative view of themselves taken by the majority. Tornedalians mirror both these views, but the consequence is that they undervalue their collective Finnish identity and overvalue the Swedish identity, whereas the majority strengthens its collective identity by devaluing the minority identity. These underlying national attitudes are reflected in the decisions and actions taken by politicians at every level. The Tornedalian culture has for the most part been neglected in a number of Royal Commissions and especially in the official "minority" policy of the Swedish Parliament.

During the 1960s Finnish-speaking Tornedalians were under-represented in political and public organizations in general, although seemingly not in the Swedish Parliament. Few of them spoke up for the rights of the minority. The debate on semilingualism, however, caused several requests by Tornedalian members of the Swedish Parliament for strengthened instruction in Swedish. Quick assimilation of the minority into the Swedish-speaking majority was the general guideline.

However, the debate on semilingualism resulted in a study of linguistic problems among immigrants, especially Sweden Finns. The Royal Commission on Immigrants became the basis for the Swedish minority and immigrant policy, adopted in the mid 1970s. The protection of linguistic, ethnic and religious minorities was inscribed in

the constitution. The Sami were acknowledged as a national minority in the early 1970s. However, Tornedalian members of the parliament did not mention in any motion the need to support bilingualism in the Torne Valley, despite an intensive effort to address the linguistic problems of immigrants. One reason for this lack of engagement was that no cultural organization in the Torne Valley demanded support for the minority language.

At the beginning of the 1980s the Swedish Tornedalians' Association was established by some of the last generation who had Finnish as a mother tongue. The Association works actively to preserve and develop the culture of the Torne Valley. This was the first group of Tornedalians to defend the minority culture and saw it as a positive reinforcer of social identity.

From 1970 onwards it was possible to study Standard Finnish in primary school without any restriction on later entrance to gymnasium (preparatory high school for university and the practical occupations). In the late 1970s discussion of the status of Tornedalen Finnish emerged from the pedagogic idea that language instruction should start from the familiar and move towards the unknown. Matti Kenttä, a former lecturer, was instrumental in promoting this idea. He had a strong influence on the Tornedalen Finnish movement, which later adopted the idea that Tornedalen Finnish should be regarded as a language in its own right, because of its isolation from Standard Finnish and because of the minority position of the population in the Swedish Torne Valley.

During the 1980s it became possible for pupils in primary school to demand Tornedalen Finnish in home language instruction. In the early 1990s Tornedalen Finnish became a mandatory subject in two primary schools, and about 1500 pupils study Finnish/Tornedalen Finnish as a home language for 1–2 periods/week. Interest in instruction in Tornedalen Finnish is growing in Gällivare municipality, fairly stable in Pajala and Övertorneå municipalities, and decreasing in Haparanda and Kiruna municipalities. However, participation in home language instruction is generally slowly declining. About 34 per cent of pupils in primary school in the Finnish-speaking municipalities attend home language instruction. About 28 per cent of the informants in the survey on which this report is based had participated in some form of Finnish language course.

The average for attendance in Finnish home language instruction is 35 per cent among pupils in Norrbotten. This compares with 52 per cent for the whole of Sweden in 1994. About one third of all those who attended home language instruction lived in Norrbotten (5507 of 18 807 in 1994; in 1995 the total number had declined to 16 724). The official statistics do not distinguish between Tornedalen Finnish and Standard Finnish.

In the 1960s 54 per cent of respondents were positive towards Finnish as a voluntary subject, whereas 17 per cent maintained that their children should be monolingual in Swedish. Today about 20 per cent of those who can speak (Tornedalen) Finnish argue that they do not want to have any form of Finnish instruction in school, whereas 55 per cent would support their children receiving home language instruction. Very few are positive towards Finnish as a compulsory subject. These attitudes towards support of the local culture and language have apparently not changed. However, one problem with comparisons is that the basis for the questions is often not precisely the same, and different contexts produce different answers. Nevertheless,

generally those who are positive towards Tornedalen Finnish are also more positive towards Finnish as a voluntary subject in school. Today attitudes have divided opinion into two blocks. About 50 per cent are positive towards regarding Tornedalen Finnish as a language rather than a dialect, while 50 per cent disagree. In addition, about 50 per cent claim that being bilingual is associated with shame.

When Tornedalen Finnish was promoted as suitable to use in public and in writing, one consequence was that Tornedalen Finnish became accepted to some extent as a positive signifier of cultural identity. The status of Tornedalen Finnish and Finnish in general has increased.

This positive social identity has led to a flood of context bound activities. During the 1980s amateur theatre grew from being almost non-existent to the perhaps most active in rural Sweden. The language on the stage reflects very well the mix of Swedish and Finnish in private life and the linguistic difference between age groups. Several authors nowadays write in Tornedalen Finnish, folksongs have been revived, and in general more attention is focused on the local culture's possibilities. Active knowledge of Finnish is rapidly decreasing, but interest in revitalizing the minority language is increasing among Swedish-speaking Tornedalians.

Politicians in every period have tried to reflect public opinion. The politicians of the Torne Valley were generally indifferent until 1984, or passive or directly hostile towards every attempt to support the local language. However, since 1984 one or two politicians have changed attitudes. The Tornedalian member of the parliament, Bruno Poromaa, has in a number of motions suggested institutional support for the maintenance of bilingualism in the region. All his motions were rejected. Nowadays there is a growing number of politicians who support the demands of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association and want to change the self image of Tornedalians.

Finnish is generally no longer the first language of children. However, a small but growing number of parents have started to talk Tornedalen Finnish with their children. Previously it was more common for boys to be more eager to learn Finnish, whereas girls tended to deny any Finnish competence. This may have changed. The maintenance of Finnish will be promoted by the high proportion of cross-marriages along the border and the immigration from Finland. Therefore Finnish will always be a feature of the border municipalities, and it will always be an important language for the inhabitants living close to the Finnish border.

The demand for bilingual competence in many public institutions along the border will probably increase now that Sweden and Finland have become members of the EU, which promotes cross-border cooperation. We can anticipate that competence in Finnish will be required in the future and considered an advantage along the Finnish border in all occupations which have dealings with Finland and Finnish customers. This development will perhaps lead to the language being associated with well educated people. For economic reasons it will probably be hard in the long run to maintain separate public institutions in every municipality on both sides of the Torne River. A merging of Finnish and Swedish institutions will lead to a requirement for bilingual competence and hence a change of attitudes.

With the establishment of the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, and the resulting cultural activity which stresses the uniqueness of the culture and the positive effects of this for the whole area, there is no reason to neglect the Tornedalen Finnish-speaking

minority. The Swedish Tornedalians' Association demands an acknowledgement of and institutional support for the local variety as a language in its own right. About 30 pieces of imaginative literature for children and adults have been published in Tornedalen Finnish by the Swedish Tornedalians' Association's own publisher, Kaamos. A magazine written mainly in Tornedalen Finnish has been published for more than 15 years. The local radio station broadcasts in Tornedalen Finnish for some 3.5 hours/week. Two dictionaries and a grammar have been compiled, and a language committee working on a voluntary basis has been founded to meet the demand for new terms and to develop the grammar. The first university courses with Tornedalen Finnish as a subject were held at the department of Finnish, Stockholm University and at Luleå Technical University. The variety has been accepted as a language in some academic settings in Finland.

However, Tornedalen Finnish from a linguistic viewpoint is a variety of Northern Finnish. On the other hand, the Swedish Tornedalians' Association wants to make a distinction between Standard Finnish and Tornedalen Finnish and categorize the Finnish-speaking group in the Torne Valley as a minority with a particular language, because the local people hold the opinion that their variety differs greatly from Standard Finnish. The term "language" rather than "dialect" reinforces social identity and self esteem. Tornedalen Finnish is thought to be a bridge to Standard Finnish. The other emerging opinion, however, is in favour of Standard Finnish, partly because of the fear that Tornedalen Finnish will isolate its speakers from Finland, and that a small linguistic community cannot maintain a separate language with all the necessary institutional support.

The Swedish government has acknowledged Sami, Romanies and Tornedalians as native minorities in the directions for home language instruction since 1985. The Sami and Tornedalians have also been reported as linguistic minorities to the Council of Europe. This unofficial acknowledgement, however, deviated from the official policy, i.e. what has passed through the Swedish Parliament. Furthermore, the situation of Tornedalians cannot be compared with that of Sweden Finns (Finns living in other parts of Sweden, mainly labelled as immigrants) because of the different historical background. However, Tornedalians and Sweden Finns have been treated as one group by the Swedish Parliament from the early 1970s until recent years. The political ideology behind this was not based on actual circumstances, but was nevertheless the reason why Sweden had an immigrant and minority policy until 1985–86. The minority could not be distinguished from the immigrants. This confused approach was probably caused by political manipulation by politicians and other activists who wanted to maintain an image of unity among Finnish speakers. After 1986 the term "immigrant and minority policy" was removed and replaced with "immigrant and refugee policy". The earlier term "minority" was especially used for immigrants. However, this confusion in categorization is probably one reason why Tornedalians have not been officially acknowledged as a national minority.

The future

Despite the actual situation, Tornedalians have received almost no recognition and little support from the Swedish government. In a number of decisions taken by the

Swedish Parliament they have been defined as an "original native population", but are nevertheless not a national minority. The definition of Tornedalians as a "native population" is apparently in contradiction to international definitions of a minority, and may be interpreted as being in opposition to the Swedish constitution which demands active support of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities.

The demands and appeals from the Swedish Tornedalians' Association are in principle considered in the parliament in the same way as any other cultural organization's views. This line is strengthened in the latest Royal Commission on directives for a new form of economic support for cultural activities. The Culture Commission suggests increased support at the regional and local levels in general, and particularly for the Sami culture. However, it briefly mentions the Torne Valley culture and expresses the opinion that the support it already has should not be increased. In the absence of special positive discrimination, this implies that immigrant organizations receive better cultural support than a national minority.

However, Sweden became a member state of the EU in 1995. The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages is an independent organization which works in close cooperation with the EU, and the European Parliament has acknowledged five linguistic and indigenous minorities in Sweden: Sami, Tornedalians, Sweden Finns, Jews and Romanies.

On the other hand, in 1995 and 1996 the Swedish government set up two Royal Commissions on minority issues. Their instructions were to examine whether Sweden could ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. For the first time the Swedish Tornedalians' Association was accepted as the representative body for Tornedalians. The Commissions intend to submit a joint report in January 1988. However, one of the Commissions had already in June 1996 defined Finnish in the five Finnish-speaking municipalities as a minority language, without defining what language was concerned. The report of the Royal Commissions will probably be the basis for a government bill on a new minority policy, which will apparently be better adapted to the actual circumstances.

There is good evidence that the status of a language correlates with institutional support. This correlation may be due to the fact that institutional support produces social stratification of the minority language speakers. With positive role models among successful minority language speakers, the attitudes among young people and parents will change and increased interest in learning the lesser used language will emerge. Whenever a language is forced to be used mainly in private domains it will be associated with emotions, family life, and agriculture, mining, and other traditional occupations, whereas the majority language will be associated with modern and public life, and access to social mobility. If young people have few role models of successful people who speak the minority language they will probably acquire a negative attitude towards it. Therefore it seems to be important to have social and economic status for the minority language speakers in order to change the attitudes and produce role models for coming generations. Institutional support impacts directly on employment in the language based sector and the use of the minority language in public, but will indirectly change attitudes and raise social identity. This will promote cross-border contacts and a natural demand for bilingualism in the public sector.

Without active economic support from the government and authorities there is little possibility that (Tornedalen) Finnish will survive. The support should be linked to education, the Academia Tornedaliensis, the Swedish Tornedalians' Association, use of Finnish/Tornedalen Finnish in public, television programs in Tornedalen Finnish, expanded local radio broadcasting, university courses, research, etc. The positive effect of strengthened social identity may be reflected in an increased potential for creativity and enterprise. The higher the status a language possesses, the greater the individual's ability to make conscious, mirror, change and develop the individual and societal situation.

POSTSCRIPT: THE REPORTS OF THE TWO MINORITY COMMISSIONS

Sweden appointed two minority commissions, in 1995 and 1996, with the task of defining the Swedish minority languages and groups. They submitted their reports (Sections I and II) in January 1998 in which they suggest that Sweden should ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

The minority languages report concludes — in English, Swedish, Sami (three varieties), Romany Chib (three varieties), Finnish and *Meänkieli* — that Sami (i.e. all varieties of Sami such as South Sami, Lule Sami and North Sami), Finnish (i.e. all varieties of Finnish such as Tornedalen Finnish/*Meänkieli* and Standard Finnish) and Romany Chib (all varieties) are historical regional or minority languages in Sweden. Section II of the reports suggests that the Swedish minorities are Sami, Tornedalians, Sweden Finns, Romanies and Jews. Hence Yiddish is not accepted as a Swedish minority language, due to the small number of speakers and the fact that there has been no intergenerational transmission of Yiddish for at least 100 years. However, this requirement for transfer from generation to generation for more than at least 3–4 generations is not met by the Sweden Finns either. In addition, it is not clear where the Sweden Finns have their territorial base, or whether they have one.

Despite the fact that the Charter explicitly excludes dialects, the report suggests that all Finnish varieties spoken in Sweden should have equal status with Standard Finnish and Tornedalen Finnish. With this approach the committees avoid the problem of how to deal with the two Finnish languages in Sweden. Therefore the language report throughout writes about varieties (including dialects and Standard forms) and avoids the term "language", though it is not always consistent and speaks about Finnish including *Meänkieli*, but not other varieties.

Romany Chib is the only non-territorial language. Sami and Finnish in the northernmost region have a historical geographic base. It is recommended that the municipalities of Kiruna, Gällivare, Jokkmokk and Arjeplog should provide public services in Sami and Swedish. The municipalities of Haparanda, Övertorneå, Pajala, Kiruna and Gällivare should provide public services in Tornedalen Finnish, Finnish and Swedish. Thus Kiruna and Gällivare have at least two official minority languages or varieties. For these municipalities the language report suggests new legislation under which individuals will have the right to use their own language vis-à-vis local, regional and national administrative authorities and courts irrespective of their knowledge of Swedish. However, none of the authorities are required to provide written services in the minority languages, due to the fact that very few of the employees in the public authorities have sufficient literacy in these languages. The cost of translations and information in Finnish and Sami was estimated to be too high. The only requirement is that oral services should be available in these three minority languages. All rights are individual, and no rights are collective. (This is an important distinction in international law. A group can never demand anything referring to these conventions.) Bi- and trilingualism are suggested as an extra qualification in all public

employment in the territories where Sami and Finnish are spoken. This should be included in legislation concerning public appointments within the minority regions.

Sweden must take a number of measures to fulfil the obligations in the Charter and the Framework Convention. Sami, Finnish (including *Mëankieli*) and Romany Chib should be acknowledged. Tornedalen Finnish is explicitly mentioned a number of times as a minority language in the northernmost region, but is not given full rights as a language, due to the anticipated cost of maintenance of two Finnish languages in Sweden, and the problems this measure would cause in supporting Finnish outside the minority region. It is easier to comply with the demands of the Charter by using the term Finnish (including Tornedalen Finnish), rather than acknowledging two Finnish languages. Thus the definition of a language in this case is based on political and economic aspects rather than linguistic, sociolinguistic or pedagogic motives.

The languages and their associated cultures should be mentioned in the school curriculum, and at least one university or college for each language (plus the Jewish culture) should be assigned the task of arranging education and research on the respective languages and their associated cultures. The report also suggests support for these languages (plus the Jewish culture) in the media, literature and culture in a number of ways. Public archives should allocate resources to collect material on the minority languages and their associated cultures. In preschools and in care of the elderly, particular legislative measures should be taken to safeguard the use of the minority languages, especially in the northernmost region, but perhaps also nationwide. Transborder contacts can be promoted by raising the Swedish minority issues within the Nordic political bodies.

The report recommends that a supervisory committee should be set up by the County Administrative Board in order to study what other measures can be taken and how the new regulations should be implemented. Representative organizations of the minorities should have status as reference bodies in all proposals concerning the minorities in question, as well as being involved in the supervisory committee. The recommendations in the reports are described as first steps toward a minority policy. If the measures taken lead to positive development, new steps should be taken to provide further protection.

However, the measures taken should not increase official expenditure — this was one of the guidelines for the commissions. The measures for the protection of Finnish, Sami and Romany Chib in their so called non-territorial position are estimated to cost some 60 000 SEK for the translation of some legislation into these languages. In the northernmost region the measures to promote and institutionalize Sami and Finnish, including *Meänkieli*, are estimated to cost some 4.6 million SEK/year. The funds for these small extra costs should be distributed by the Board of Integration. Thus it seems that the Swedish minorities will be on a par with immigrants as regards funding for some expenditures to maintain the multilingual and multicultural society.

However, the reports recommend that a number of measures should be funded through reallocation from existing sources. The Tornedalian, Sami, Sweden Finnish, Jewish and Romany cultures should be particularly supported by the recommended responsible authority, the National Council of Cultural Affairs. The National Agency for Education is to monitor provision of sufficient home language instruction for the minorities.

The overall impression is that the Sweden Finns have achieved very good support indeed. Jews and Romanies will receive significant support to maintain their respective cultures/languages. The already existing support for Sami will be largely unchanged (apart from the abovementioned suggestions), whereas Tornedalians have achieved the smallest improvements seen from their present territorial minority position. The estimated extra expenditures for a reform described in 500 pages are extremely small.

In comparison with the ratification instruments of Norway, Finland, Hungary and the Netherlands, the suggested support for Finnish in Sweden has the weakest position of all minority languages mentioned in the ratification instruments. The proposed support for Sami is somewhat stronger in Sweden than in Norway, but far weaker than in Finland. However, there seems to be great variation in the practical implications of the same paragraph.

APPENDIX 1

Kysymyslomake 1991–92

Questionnaire 1991–92

Nimi:
Name:

Syntymäpaikka:
Place of birth:

Syntymävuosi, kuu ja päivä:
Year of birth, month and day:

Työ:
Occupation:

Kouluja:
Education:

Kunkas kauon olet asunu tässä kylässä?
How long time have you lived in this village?

Mistäs sinun vanhemat on/olit kotosin?
Where are/were your parents from? Mother:

Mamma:
Father:

Pappa:

Mitäs kieltä net puhut/puhuva enniiten?
Which language do/did they speak mostly?

Mamma:
Mother:

Pappa:
Father:

Kunka monta veliä ja sisaria sulla on?
How many brothers and sisters do you have?

Velimiehiä:
Brothers:

Sisaria:
Sisters:

Montako lasta sulla on?
How many children do you have?

Mitäs kieltä sie puhut parhaiten?	*Ruottia*
	Suomea
	Aapuan suomea
	Matarengin suomea
	Meän kieltä
	Yhtä hyvin meän kieltä ja ruottia
	Kaikkia kolmea
Which language do you speak best?	Swedish
	Finnish
	Aapua Finnish
	Matarenki Finnish
	Tornedalen Finnish
	Swedish and Tornedalen Finnish equally well
	All three

Kunkas hyvin sie saatat meän kieltä?
How good is your Tornedalen Finnish?

	Puhua Speak	*Ymmärtää* Understand	*Lukea* Read	*Kirjottaa* Write
Hyvin Good				
Aika hyvin Fairly good				
Aika huonosti Fairly bad				
Huonosti Bad				
Ei ollenkhaan Not at all				

Saataks suomensuomea?
How good is your Finland Finnish?

	Puhua Speak	*Ymmärtää* Understand	*Lukea* Read	*Kirjottaa* Write
Hyvin Good				
Aika hyvin Fairly good				
Aika huonosti Fairly bad				
Huonosti Bad				
Ei ollenkhaan Not at all				

Saataks hyvin ruottia?	*Hyvin*	*Aika hyvin*	*Muuta:*
How good is your Swedish?	Good	Fairly good	Other:

Oleks sie lukenu kirjoja, lehtiä eli tekstiä meän kielelä?
Have you read books, newspapers or magazines in Tornedalen Finnish?

Olen	*En ole*	*Mikkä?*
Yes	No	What?

Kumpiko kieli oon sinun mielestä sponthaanisempi, eli mikä kieli tullee ensimäiseks suuhun?
Which language is, in your opinion, more spontaneous, or which comes first into your mind?

Ruotti	*Meän kieli*	*Suomi*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish

Oleks tyytyväinen sinun kielitaijon kansa?		*Olen*	*En ole*	*En tiä*
Are you satisfied with your linguistic competence?	Yes	I'm not	Don't know	

Jos et ole, koskas tuntuu ette oon prubleemia? *esim puhheessa eli kuuntelussa*
If you are not, when do you feel that you have problems? e.g speaking, listening

Saatoiks ruottia ko lähit kouhluun?
Did you know Swedish when you started school?

Hyvin	*Aika hyvin*	*Aika huonosti*	*Huonosti*	*En ollenkhaan*
Well	Fairly well	Fairly badly	Badly	Not at all

Luiks suomea eli meän kieltä koulussa?		*Joo*	*En*
Have you studied Finnish or Tornedalen Finnish in school?	Yes	No	

Mikset?
Why not?
Montako tiimaa viikossa?
How many hours/week?

Oleks käyny minkhäänlaista kielikursia jossa olet oppinu meän kieltä eli suomea?
Have you done any language courses where you have learned Tornedalen Finnish or Finnish?

Olen	*En ole*	*Mikkä kursit?*
Yes	No	Which courses?

Olikos niistä hyötyä? Oli	*Ei ollu*	*En tiä*	*Muuta:*	
Were they any help to you?	Yes	No	Don't know	Other

Onkos sinun lapset lukehneet suomea koulussa?	*Ei ole*	*On suomea meän kieltä*
Have your children studied Finnish in school?	No	Yes, Finnish Tornedalen Finnish

Panisiks omat lapset suomen kielen opetuksheen koulussa?
Would you have your children learn Finnish in school?

Panisin	*En panisi*	*En tiä*
I would	I wouldn't	Don't know

Kumpikos olis parempi lukea: meän kieltä eli suomensuomea?
Which language would be better to study: Tornedalen Finnish or Finland Finnish?

Meän kieltä	*Suomensuomea*
Tornedalen Finnish	Finland Finnish

Kattoks Suomen teeveetä?	*Mitä?*
Do you watch Finnish TV?	What?

Paljon	*Aika paljon*	*Vähän*	*En ollenkhaan*
A lot	A fair bit	Little	Not at all

Kerkiäks lukea suomenkielistä tekstiä?	*Jo*	*Välistä*	*en kerkiä*
Do you have time to read the Finnish subtitles?	Yes	Sometimes	No

Kunkas hyvin sinun mies/vaimo saattaa meän kieltä?
How good is your wife/husband's Tornedalen Finnish?

Ikä:	*Puhua*	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
Age:	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Good				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly good				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly bad				
Huonosti				
Bad				
Ei ollenkhaan				
Not at all				

Kunkas sinun tyttäret saattava meän kieltä?			*Nuoriin*	
Do your daughters know Tornedalen Finnish?			Youngest	
Ikä:	*Puhua*	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
Age:	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Well				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly well				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly badly				
Huonosti				
Badly				

Ei ollenkhaan
Not at all

Toiseksi nuoriin
Second youngest

Ikä:	*Puhua*	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
Age:	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Well				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly well				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly badly				
Huonosti				
Badly				
Ei ollenkhaan				
Not at all				

Kunkas sinun pojat saattava meän kieltä? *Nuoriin*
Do your sons know Tornedalen Finnish? Youngest

Ikä:	*Puhua*	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
Age:	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Well				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly well				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly badly				
Huonosti				
Badly				
Ei ollenkhaan				
Not at all				

Toiseksi nuoriin
Second youngest

Ikä:	*Puhua*	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
Age:	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Well				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly well				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly badly				
Huonosti				
Badly				

Ei ollenkhaan
Not at all

Muut?
Others?

Kunkas sinun tutut ylheensä saattava meän kieltä?
Do your friends know Tornedalen Finnish?

	Puhua	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Well				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly well				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly badly				
Huonosti				
Badly				
Ei ollenkhaan				
Not at all				

Kunkas hyvin sinun krannit saattava meän kieltä?
Do your neighbours know Tornedalen Finnish?

	Puhua	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Well				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly well				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly badly				
Huonosti				
Badly				
Ei ollenkhaan				
Not at all				

Kunkas kylässä ylheensä saatethaan meän kieltä?
Do people in your village in general know Tornedalen Finnish?

	Puhua	*Ymmärtää*	*Lukea*	*Kirjottaa*
	Speak	Understand	Read	Write
Hyvin				
Well				
Aika hyvin				
Fairly well				
Aika huonosti				
Fairly badly				

Huonosti
Badly
Ei ollenkhaan
Not at all

Onko semmosia jokka ei saata puhua eikä ymmärä meän kieltä ollenkhaan?
Do you know people who can't speak or understand Tornedalen Finnish at all?

On joku	*Monta*	*Ei yhtään*
Yes, some	Many	No-one

Jos tullee vieras muusta kylästä mitäs kieltä sie ensiks käytät?
If a stranger comes from another village, which language would you use at first?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish

Sattuukos ette sie puhut meän kieltä ja toinen vastaa ruottiksi elikkä toisin päin?
Does it ever happen that you speak Tornedalen Finnish and the other person answers in Swedish, or vice versa?

Joo	*Ei satu*	*Miksi?*
Yes	No	Why?

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä sie ensimäiseksi opit?
What language or languages did you learn first?

Ruotti	*Meän kieli*	*Suomi*	*Molempia*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish	Both

Missäs sie olet oppinu meän kielen?
Where have you learned Tornedalen Finnish?
Paikka/paikat, ihmiset:
Place/places, people:

Missäs sie olet oppinu ruottin kielen?
Where have you learned Swedish?
Paikka/paikat, ihmiset:
Place/places, people:

Puhuks jostaki asioista vain meän kielelä/ruottiksi?
Are there some things which you only can talk about in Tornedalen Finnish/Swedish?

Jo, vain meän kielelä/ruottiksi	*Ei*
Yes, only in Tornedalen Finnish/Swedish	No

Mistä asioista?
What things?

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä sinun lapset puhuva heän kaveritten kansa?
Which language, or languages, do your children speak with their friends?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*	*Ruottia/meän kieltä*	*Kaikkia kolmea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish	Swedish/ Tornedalen Finnish	All three

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä vanhemat ylheensä puhuvat lapsitten kansa?
Which language or languages do parents in general speak with their children?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*	*Kaikkia kolmea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish	All three

Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Ruottia ja suomea*
Tornedalen Finnish/Swedish	Swedish & Finnish

Mitäs kieltä puhut kaveritten kansa enniiten?
Which language do you mostly speak with your friends?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish

Ruottia ja meän kieltä/suomea	*Yhtä paljon*
Swedish & Tornedalen Finnish/Finnish	All equally

Halvasiks ette sinun lapset saattasit:
Would you like you children to know:

Meän kieltä	*Suomea*	*Molempia*	*Eli kaikkia kolmea kieltä?*
Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish	Both	Or all three languages

Onkos sulla hyötyä meän kielestä?	*On*	*Ei ole*	*En tiä*
Do you have any use for Tornedalen Finnish?	Yes	No	Don't know

Jos on, missä eli kunka?
If yes, where or how?

Mitäs kieltä koulussa enniiten puhuthiin/ puhuthaan rastila?
Which language was/is most often spoken in the school playground?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Molempia*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Both

Mitäs kieltä sinun kouluaijan ensimäisillä vuosilla puhuthiin rastila?
Which language did you speak in the school playground during your first years at school?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Molempia*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Both

Mitäs kieltä sinun kouluaijan viimisillä vuosilla puhuthiin rastila?
Which language did you speak in the school playground in your last years at school?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Molempia*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Both

Onkos ollu yhtään muutosta, esim suomesta ruothiin?
Is there any change, e.g. from Finnish to Swedish?

On	*Ei ole*	*Koskas tuli muutos?*
Yes	No	When did it happen?

Mitäs kieltä sie puhut työpaikala kaveritten kansa?
Which language do you speak with your fellows where you work?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Yhtä paljon molempia*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Both equally

Mitäs kieltä puhut föörmannin kansa?
Which language do you speak with your foreman?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä sie puhut työmiesten kansa?
Which language, or languages, do you speak with your workers?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Tartteeko sinun työpaikala saattaa molempia kieliä? *Joo* *Ei*
Is bilingualism a necessity at your place of work? Yes No

Halvaks ennemin olla työkaveritten kansa jokka puhuva:
Do you prefer to be with fellow workers who speak:

Suomea	*Meän kieltä*	*Ruottia*
Finnish	Tornedalen Finnish	Swedish
Ruottia ja meän kieltä	*Kaikkia kolmea*	*Samantekevä*
Swedish & Tornedalen Finnish	All three	It doesn't matter

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä sie puhut postissa?
Which language, or languages, do you speak in the post office?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*	*Molempia*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish	Both

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä puhut kaupassa?
Which language, or languages, do you speak in the shop?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Yhtä paljon molempia*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Both equally

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä puhut jahissa?
Which language do you speak when you go hunting?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish

Mitäs kieltä eli kieliä puhut kalanpyyössä?
Which language do you speak when you go fishing?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish

Mitäs kieltä puhut enniiten ku käyt Matarengissä eli Svansteinissä?
Which language do you use mostly when you visit Matarenki or Svanstein?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Oleks sie vaihettannu kieltä jossaki paikassa missä sie ennen puhuit ruottia/suomea?
Have you changed language in some place where you earlier spoke Swedish/Finnish?

Missä?
Where?

Onkos sulla sukulaisia Suomesta eli Suomessa?	*On*	*Ei ole*
Do you have relatives in Finland or from Finland?	Yes	No

Onkos meän kieli dialekti eli oma kieli?	*Dialekti*	*Oma kieli*	*En tiä*
Is Tornedalen Finnish a language or a dialect?	Dialect	Language	Don't know

Mitäs Suomen puolela piethään tästä meän kielestä?
What do people in Finland say about this Tornedalen Finnish?

Hyvin	*Huonosti*	*Samantekevä*	*En tiä*
Good	Bad	Doesn't matter	Don't know

Mitäs ruottinkieliset pitävä ylheensä tornionlaaksonsuomesta?
What do Swedish-speakers in general think of Tornedalen Finnish?

Hyvin	*Huonosti*	*Samantekevä*	*En tiä*
Good	Bad	Doesn't matter	Don't know

Onkos suomensuomi tärkeä kieli täälä Tornionlaaksossa?
Is Finland Finnish an important language here in the Torne Valley?

On	*Ei ole*	*En tiä*
Yes	No	Don't know

Onkos se *hyvä* *huono eli* *samantekevä jos opetethaan meän kieltä kouluissa?*
Is it good bad or doesn't matter if Tornedalen Finnish is taught in school?

Onkos se *hyvä* *huono eli* *samantekevä jos opetethaan suomen kirjakieltä kouluissa?*
Is it good bad or doesn't matter if Standard Finnish is taught in school?

Opetethaanko meän kieltä *liika vähän* *kylliksi eli* *liika paljon kouluissa?*
Do they teach Tornedalen Finnish too little enough or too much in school?

Opetethaanko suomensuomea *liika vähän* *kylliksi eli* *liika paljon kouluissa?*
Do they teach Finland Finnish too little enough or too much in school?

Uskoks että meän kieli tullee säilymhään? *Uskon* *En usko* *En tiä*
Do you believe that Tornedalen Finnish will survive? Yes No Don't know

Mikkä on miehleisemät kielet eli dialektit?
Which languages or dialects are the nicest one?
Stokholminruotti *Göteborinruotti* *Skoonenruotti*
Stockholmish Gothenburgish Skånish
Tornionlaakson ruotti *Meän kieli*
Tornedalen Swedish Tornedalen Finnish
(Luokittele 1, 2, 3, 4 ja 5)
(Place in order 1,2,3,4 and 5)

Mikäs oon miehleisempi kieli? *Meän kieli eli* *Suomensuomi*
Which language is nicer? Tornedalen Finnish or Finland Finnish

Piäks itteä:
In your opinion, are you a:
Suomenkielisennä *Meänkielisennä* *Ruottinkielisennä?*
Finnish-speaker Tornedalen Finnish speaker Swedish speaker?
Kakskielisenä *Kolmekielisennä* *En tiä*
Bilingual Trilingual Don't know

Jos kiroat niin millä kielelä? *Suomi* *Ruotti*
If you swear, which language? Finnish Swedish

Miksi? *Tuntheelisempi* *Parempi* *En tiä*
Why? More emotional Better Don't know

Jos olet vihassa mikäs kieli tuntuu paremalta?
If you are angry which language feels better?
Meän kieli *Ruotti* *Suomi*
Tornedalen Finnish Swedish Finnish

Onkos inställninki ylheensä meän kiehleen muuttunu viimi aikona?
Has the general attitude towards Tornedalen Finnish changed recently?

Pusitiivisemaks	*Negatiivisemaks*	*Ei ole muuttunu*
More positive	More negative	No change

Onkos sinun inställninki meän kielheen muuttunu viimi aikona?
Has your attitude toward Tornedalen Finnish changed recently?

Pusitiivisemaks	*Negatiivisemaks*	*Ei ole muuttunu*
More positive	More negative	No change

Missäs uskot oon syy?
In your opinion, what's the reason?

Onkos täälä poikkinaintia?	*On*	*Ei ole*
Are there cross-marriages here?	Yes	No

Kumpiko Suomesta?	*Mies*	*Vaimo?*
Who comes from Finland?	Man	Woman?

Uskoks että torniolaaksolaiset häpeävä heän ommaa kieltä?
Do you believe that Tornedalians feel ashamed of their own language?

Uskon	*En usko*	*En tiä*
Yes	No	Don't know

Miksi?
Why?

Oleks kristitty?	*Olen*	*En ole*	*En tiä*	*Muuta:*
Are you Christian?	Yes	No	Don't know	Other:

Käyks rukkuuksissa?	*Jo*	*En*
Do you go to prayer meetings?	Yes	No

Mitäs kieltä sielä puhuthaan?
Which language is used there?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish
Meän kieltä ja ruottia	*Kaikkia kolmea*	
Tornedalen Finnish & Swedish	All three	

Mitäs enniiten?
For the most part?

Ruottia	*Meän kieltä*	*Suomea*
Swedish	Tornedalen Finnish	Finnish

Käyks kirkonmenossa? *Jo* *En*
Do you go to morning services? Yes No

Minkä kielisissä kirkonmenoissa sie käyt enniiten? *Suomen kielisessä* *Ruottin kielisessä*
Which kind of morning services do you mostly go to? Finnish-speaking Swedish-speaking

Mitäs tykkäät näistä flyktinkistä jokka on eli on olheet täälä Matarengissä?
There are/have been refugees and immigrants in Matarenki. What's your opinion about them?

Hyvin	*Huonosti*	*Samantekevää*	*En tiä*
Good	Bad	Doesn't matter	Don't know

Onkos niitä kylläksi liika vähän eli liika paljon flyktinkiä Ruottissa?
Are they a sufficient number too few or too many refugees in Sweden?

Paljon kiitoksia
Many thanks

APPENDIX 2

SITAATTIA 1991–92 VUOSITTEN HAASTATTELUISTA

Excerpts from interviews 1991–92

CAPITAL LETTERS indicate integrated Swedish loans or code switching.

Tämä meän kieli PRAATI ei olekku vanhemitten nostalgia.
This TALK of Our Language is just older people's nostalgia. (Male, 45 years, Aapua.)

(KRANNIN pojat) oon niin hithaat oppimhaan ku net kuuleva. (suomea ja ruottia) . . . Isä puhhuu ruottia ja mammansa puhhuu suomea, no niillä oon niin seka puhe ette se oon . . . Ei se KRANNIN poika oppinu milhään se sekotti kaikki, sillä ollu mithään selvää sannaa. Se häätyy oppiaa jommankumman ensistä niin jokka täälä rajala oon.
[The NEIGHBOUR'S boys] are so slow to learn when they hear [Finnish and Swedish] . . . The father speaks Swedish and their mother speaks Finnish, they have very mingled language, that it is . . . The NEIGHBOURS' boy had great problems learning, he mingled everything, he did have not a clear and distinct language. You must learn one of the languages first, those who live at this border here. (Male 45 years, Matarenki.)

Huh, enhään mie saata puhua suomea kläpitten kansa.
Ugh, I can't speak Finnish with children. (Female, 65 years, Matarenki.)

Tulen toimheen ja pärjään tällä kielelä. En ole ajatellu kunka hyvin.
I get on here with this language. I haven't thought how well. (Male, middle aged, Matarenki.)

Olen hoksanu . . . tuntuu ette jotaki oon välisssä ku käytän ruottia, tuntuu ette oon väärin, se oon niinku sölkärangassa se tunne.
I have realized . . . that I can't speak fluently when I use Swedish, I feel that it's wrong, it's as if the feeling is in my backbone. (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Meän kieli oon pilkaksi kirkonmenossa.
Our Language is an insult in morning services. (A priest.)

(Olen) ilonen ette mie ossaan suomea.
(I'm) glad that I know Finnish. (Male, 15 years, Matarenki.)

Täälä käsin ei ossaa oikein kukhaan ruottia.
In this area no-one really knows Swedish. (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)

Täälä oon se ette net oon hävenheet, ne oon liika likelä olheet raijaa.
Here they have been ashamed, they are too close to the border. (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)

Kainostavat sitä suomen kieltä, vaikka ei ossaa ruottia.
They are hostile toward Finnish language, although they don't know Swedish. (Male, 70 years, Matarenki.)

Soon ihmiselle vähän KÄNSLISTÄ. Tuntuu silla laila ku mie olen ruottalainen ette mie häätyisin osata ruottin paremin ku suomen.
It's a little SENSITIVE for a human. I feel that as I'm a Swede I should be able to speak better Swedish than Finnish. (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)

Ruottissa pittää puhua ruottia, niin ruottalaiset sanovat.
In Sweden people should speak Swedish, that's what the Swedes say. (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)

Mie piän niinki lapselisena liikheenä se meän kieli. Soon niin pikkunen kieli ja se oon aivan toivotonta ette se tullee elämhään koskhaan.
It's a very ridiculous movement, Our Language. It's a small language and there's absolutely no hope that it will ever survive. (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)

Se ylheinen mielipide oon ette se meän kieli se ole kuulekku niile korkeile lukenheile ihmisille.
It's common opinion that Our Language is only for those who are well educated. (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)

Opettava meän kieltä sen takia ette se on opettajitten halu eikä lapsitten halu.
They teach Our Language because it is the teachers' interest and not the wish of the children. (Male, 45 years, Aapua.)

Se on ollu aivan haitaksi. Minusta olis tullu vaikka professuuri, mutta ko en osanu ruottia. Enkä tykkää vähhäkhään tästä meän kielen praatista. Heittäkää poies koko meän kielen pörinän. Parempi ette kläpit saava samat maholisuuet ko muukki ruottalaiset.
It has been nothing but a hindrance. I could perhaps have been a professor, but I didn't know Swedish. I don't like this talk of Our Language at all. Stop the drivel about Our Language. It's better that the children get the same opportunities as other Swedes. (Male, 55 years, Kainulasjärvi.)

En mie tiä oiken ketä se auttaa tämä meän kieli. Eihään siitä ole apua, ei mihinkhään. Sie et ole suomalainen ekkä ruottalainen. Ei koskhaan opi meän kielilaiset suomea jos net täälä asuvat.
I can't understand who could benefit from Our Language. There isn't any help from it. You are neither a Finn nor a Swede. Our Language proponents will never learn Finnish if they live here. (Male, 40 years, Matarenki.)

Mie en ole HALVSPROOKKINEN.
I'm not SEMILINGUAL. (Female, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Täälä PLANDATHAAN SPROOKIT ja moni on HALVSPROOKKINEN. Itte en ole ko korkeinthaan yks ja puoli SPROOKKINEN.
Here we MINGLE the LANGUAGES, and many are SEMILINGUALS. I myself am at the most one and a half LINGUAL. (Male, 40 years, Aapua.)

PAKKAA TREESMAAKKI ja BAKUUNIPAKEETTI.
STOW THREETASTES and A PACKET OF BACON. [THREETASTES is a particular type of ice cream given a new name in the vernacular.] (Bilingual male, Muodoslompolo.)

Niinku se oon tämä meän kieli ette toinen sana suomi ja toinen sana ruotti.
This is what Our Language is like, one word is Finnish and the other word is Swedish. (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)

Oikea suomen sanoja niinku kansio elikkä PÄRMÄ.
Real Finnish words as cover or COVER. (Female, 62 years, Matarenki.)

Met puhuma sitte sekakieltä, me emmä ossaa suomea eikä ruottia.
We really speak a mixed language, we don't know either Finnish or Swedish. (Female, 63 years, Matarenki.)

Puhua ANTINGEN FINSKA ELLER SVENSKA.
Speak EITHER FINNISH OR SWEDISH. (Female, 23 years, Matarenki.)

Suomalaiset pilkistelevä. Sanova ette parempi puhua ruottia ko kehnoa suomea. Ja ummikot pilkkaava meän ruottia.
Finns are scornful. They say that it's better to speak Swedish than bad Finnish. And the monolinguals scorn our Swedish. (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)

Uskova ette mistähään tuo tullee, ei puhu ruottia eikä suomea.
They wonder where he might come from; doesn't speak either Swedish or Finnish. (Male, 55 years, Matarenki.)

Meän kieli ei ole kieli, vain tuherettu kokhoon mistä hyänsä.
Our Language is not a language, but a mixture of anything. (Male, 30 years, Aapua.)

Mie olen en OCH EN HALVSPROOKKINEN.
I'm ONE AND A HALFLINGUAL. (Female, 40 years, Matarenki.)

Ossaan puolikumpaaki, kummassaki jääpi vajavaks.
I know half of both, in both I'm deficient. (Female, 65 years, Aapua.)

Meän suomi ÄR LÄTTAST ATT TALA.
Our Finnish IS EASIEST TO SPEAK. (Female, 20 years, Matarenki.)

BLIR MER meän kieltä, puoli suomi ja puoli ruotti, se tullee: meän kieltä.
IT BECOMES MORE Our Language, half Finnish and half Swedish: that's Our Language. (Female, 18 years, Matarenki.)

Mie yritän ette se tullee se oikea suomi. Se oon pölyimuri eikä DAMMSYYGARI.
I try to produce the real Finnish. It is *[pölyimuri]* vacuum cleaner and not VACUUM CLEANER. (Female, 62 years, Matarenki.)

Tämä suomi oon köyhempi, vaikea tulkata tällä kielelä.
This Finnish is poorer, difficult to interpret in this language. (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)

Kummassaki kielessä oon sanoja mitä pittää hakea.
In both languages there are words which must be searched for. (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Siihen aikhaan jos yritti puhua ruottia niin sanothiin ette jopa vain oon tullu ylpeäksi ku puhhuu ruottia.
In those days if someone tried to speak Swedish it was said that he truly had become proud when he spoke Swedish. (Common saying in the Torne Valley.)

Met olinxa FIINIMPIÄ Matarengissä ja puhuima ruottia.
We were BETTER people in Matarenki and spoke Swedish. (Common knowledge in Matarenki.)

Matarenkilaiset ei ymmärä mithään.
The people in Matarenki don't understand anything. (Male, older, Aapua.)

Matarenkilaiset oon vähän niinku kälmiä ihmisiä.
In Matarenki they are rather shrewd people. (Male, older, Aapua.)

Pitävät FIINIMPÄNNÄ paikkana, Matarenkiä.
They consider that Matarenki is more FASHIONABLE. (Common saying in the villages.)

Jag tycker att alla bör kunna tornedalsfinska. Och jag tycker att mina föräldrar borde ha talat mer tornedalsfinska med mig.
I think that all people should learn Tornedalen Finnish. And I think that my parents should have spoken more Finnish with me. (Said in Swedish.) (Female, 19 years, Matarenki.)

Niinku sitä täälä enempi oon sitä ajattelee suomeksi ja sitte puhhuu esimerkiks ruottiks, jos se ruottiksi pittää jonku kansa puhua. Ja taas ko sitä oon tuola alempanna olemassa ja ku tullee tänne takashin se pittää ruottiksi ajatella ja sitte puhua suomeks.
When you have been here some time you think in Finnish and then speak, for instance, Swedish, if you intend to speak Swedish to somebody. And when you are there in the southern parts and return here you must think in Swedish and speak Finnish. (Male, 35 years, Matarenki.)

Sitä mitä oon oppinu ensimäiseks puhuhmaan niin sitähän käyttää sitä kieltä.
What you have learned to speak first, that is the language you use. (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)

Selkäranka tullee kipeäks ku puhhuu ruottia.
Your backbone aches when you speak Swedish. (Common saying in Kainulasjärvi.)

Suupielet tulevat kipeäks ku joutuu puhumnhaan ruottia.
It aches in the corners of your mouth when you must speak Swedish. (Male, 75 years, Matarenki.)

Sais oppia muitaki kieliä, mutta ku ei ole aikaa ja eikä ole lahjoja. Muut kielet oon niinku puoli-pakola opetettu. On pakko oppia sen kielen joka on maassa ette sen pärjää.
You should learn other languages as well, but I have no time or talent. Other languages are learned partly compulsorily. It's a necessity to learn the majority language of the nation so that you can get on. (Male, 75 years, Matarenki.)

Se oon hyvä oppia suomen kieltä. Se oon niin hyvä ossaa.
It's good to learn Finnish. It is very good to know. (Female, 20 years, Matarenki.)

Panisin oikean suomen kielen opetuksheen. Ei oiken aina pääse kärryile. Liian paljon ruottin sanoja pantu sekhaan. Esimerkiks Norrbottenin raadiussa.
I would put them into real Finnish teaching. You don't not always get ahead [with Tornedalen Finnish.] Too many mingled Swedish words. (Male, 32 years, Matarenki.)

Mie olen kieltäny lapset suomen kielen lukemisesta. Parempi ette oppii hyvän ruottin.
I have forbidden my children to study Finnish. It's better to learn good Swedish. (Male, 35 years, Aapua.)

Suomalaiset änkyttävät sitä ruottin kieltä, yrittävät talkata esile.
Finns are hesitant in this Swedish language, try to produce it by going over and over it. (Male, 28 years, Matarenki.)

Oppinu pakkohommala. Suomen suomesta olis enempi käyttöä.
I was forced to learn. Finland Finnish would be more useful. (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Postissa ei tartte käyttää mithään kieltä.
In the post office you don't need to speak any language. (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Koira ei saatakku ruottia.
The dog knows only Swedish. (Common saying in the Torne Valley.)

Jos ei tartte muuta niin opettaa meän kieltä.
If you don't need any other then teach Tornedalen Finnish. (Male, 55 years, Aapua.)

Se oon väärin ette net ei anna sen lahjan lapsile [suomi].
It's wrong not to give the children this gift [Finnish]. (Male, 47 years, Aapua.)

Tukholman ruotti oon enämpi jäykempi, oon mukavampi korvale.
Stockholm Swedish sounds tougher, it's more fun for the ear. (Male, Matarenki.)

Norrbottenin raadiussa kuulostaa ruotti vähän hullulta, esimerkiks ku tullee etelästä. Sama ku kuulee skoonen ruottia täälä. Kyllähän sen ymmärtää.
Swedish sounds funny on the local radio, for instance when you come from southern Sweden. The same when you hear Skånish [the southernmost dialect of Sweden] here. (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Tämä oon se oikea suomi, se oon pehmeä. Suomensuomi oon niin kova.
This is the real Finnish, it's so soft. Finland Finnish is so hard. (Fairly common knowledge in the Torne Valley.)

Kunka sie olet tehny ku sie olet saanu sen puhumhaan ruottia.
What did you do when you taught your child to speak Swedish? (Said by a mother to another mother in the 1950s.)

Tyttäret olit kohta umpiruottalaiset, niin met tykkäsimmä. Net RÄKNÄTHIIN niin FIINIKSI. Se oli tärkeämpi oppia ruottin kielen.
The girls were nearly completely monolinguals, that was what we thought. They were CONSIDERED very NICE. It was more important to learn Swedish. (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Met puhuima RASTILA mitä met osasima.
We spoke what we could at school during BREAKS. (Male, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Met saima ANMÄRKNINKIÄ ku puhuima suomea. Mulla oli TRETTON TREEDJE KLASSISSA. Hansila oli TJUÅTTA.
We got BAD MARKS when we spoke Finnish. I had THIRTEEN in the FOURTH GRADE. Hans had TWENTY-EIGHT. (Male, 38 years, Matarenki.)

Niillä oli paremat BETYYNKIT, paremat kaikki. Isompi väli pojitten ja tyttäritten välissä. Pojila olit huonot BETYYNKIT.
They had better school MARKS, better everything. Great difference between boys and girls. The boys had low GRADES. (Male, 38 years, Matarenki.)

Koulu oli jotaki vierasta. Minun ensimäiset sanat olit: - Fröken får jag gå ut. Sööre meni ulos ja kusi runkhaan. Ja opettaja huusi ette mennä hyysikhään. Met olima niin mettäintynheet.
The school was something alien. My first words were: Teacher, may I go out [in Swedish]. Sööre went out and peed in the snow bank. And the teacher shouted that he must go to the toilet. We were so backward. (Male, 38 years, Matarenki.)

Tuntui ette net jokka puhuit paremin ruottia sait enämpi apua opettajalta.
It seemed that those who spoke better Swedish got more help from the teacher. (Male, 38 years, Matarenki.)

Yks joka puhui hyvin ruottia sai hypätä yli yhen luokan. Miksikhään se nyt pelastethiin, met kysyimä. Me olima vihassa.
One person who spoke good Swedish skipped a grade. Why were they saved, we asked. We were angry. (Male, 38 years, Matarenki.)

Se on helpompi miehilä puhua suomea, net puhuit aivan suomea koulussa. Vaimot puhuvat enämpi ruottia.
It is easier for men to speak Finnish, they always spoke Finnish in school. Women talk more Swedish. (Male, 38 years, Matarenki.)

Pojat FLÖRTTASIT koulussa ruottiks, mutta vitsasit suomeks.
The boys FLIRTED with girls in Swedish, but joked in Finnish. (Male, 35 years, Aapua.)

Tyttärillä on FIINIMPI puhua ruottia, samon niinku ette tyttäret halvava olla FIINIMASSÄ vaatheissa ko pojat, jokka ei ollenkhaan välitä vaatheitten kauhneuesta.
It is NICER for girls to speak Swedish, that corresponds with girls' greater attention to NICE clothing. Boys don't care at all for aesthetic values in clothing. (Male, 35 years, Aapua.)

Olima niin mettintynheet ette jos tuli vierhaita niin met laukoima methään.
We were so backward that when strangers came we ran into the forest. (Male, 38 years, Matarenki.)

Minusta tuli hyvä ruottalainen sielä [armeassa]. Olin kersantti.
I became a good Swede [in the army]. I was a sergeant. (Male, 75 years, Matarenki.)

Sunkhaan sillä kieli parane ette sitä rangastaa.
The language will not be better if they are punished for it. (Male, 75 years, Matarenki.)

Sitä oon tietenki vaphaampi puhumhaan ku tietää ette toinenki ossaa suomen. Mutta sitte ku mie aivan häyn puhua ruottin, no se oon kauhea ajatteleminen ette muistaa kaikki sanat. Mie olen menny takashiin ruottin.
You are more free to speak when you know that the other person knows Finnish. But when I must speak only Swedish, it is very hard to remember all the words. My Swedish has become worse. (Male, 35 years, Matarenki.)

Minun ikäset oon aivan ummikkoruottalaiset täälä.
People of my age are monolinguals here. (Male, 20 years, Matarenki.)

Suomi oon niin pikkunen sillä ei tule toimheen. Parempi SATSATA enämpi franskaa ja englantia.
Finnish is so minor, you can't get ahead with it. Better to INVEST more in French and English. (Male, 43 years, Aapua.)

Ei se kannatte kehittää sitä mikä oon kuolemassa.
It's not necessary to develop something which is dying. (Male, 45 years, Matarenki.)

Kukas sitä HUNTEERAA millä kielelä HUNTEERAA, taitaa olla ruottiksi.
Who THINKS about which language you use in THINKING, it's probably Swedish. (Male, 42 years, Matarenki.)

Täälähään kaikki ossaa suomea. Moni luokassa ei ossaa ollenkhaan suomea. Luokassa on 18, neljä ei osanu ku jonku ruman sanan. Ei ymmärtänhee. Ne oon asunu täälä. Jokka täälä assuu pitäis osata suomen.
Everyone here knows Finnish. Many in the class don't know any Finnish. In the class there are eighteen, four couldn't speak more than a few dirty words. Did not understand. They have lived here. Those who live here should be able to speak Finnish. (Female, 13 years, Matarenki.)

Kirjottaminen oon vaikeampi kun puhua.
Writing is more difficult than speaking. (Male, 28 years, Matarenki.)

Jag skäms för att jag inte kan tornedalsfinska.
I am ashamed because I don't know Tornedalen Finnish. (Said in Swedish.) (Female, 8 years, Tärendö.)

Suomalaiset ymmärtävä meitä, me emmä ymmärä heitä.
Finns understand us, we don't understand them. (Female, 45 years, Matarenki.)

Suomalaisilla on oikea suomi, meilä on omituinen suomi.
Finns have real Finnish, we have peculiar Finnish. (Female, Matarenki.)

Suomalaiset pitävä ette met PRAATIMA raasti, krouvvisti ja semmosta hävetöntä kieltä.
Finland Finns maintain that we SPEAK a vulgar, harsh, such an obscene language. (Female, 45 years, Aapua.)

Meän murre on rajotettu, suomensuomi on reilu kieli.
Our dialect is restricted, Finland Finnish is a solid language. (Male, 45 years, Aapua.)

Murtheet on Jumalan luomia, kirjakielet on viishoitten herroitten tekemiä.
Dialects are creations of God, written languages are wise men's handiworks. (A linguist in the Torne Valley.)

Meän kieli on se oikea kieli, suomen kirjakieli on vain yks murre.
Our Language is the real language, written Finnish is just a dialect. (A linguist in the Torne Valley.)

Meän suomi on FIINIMPI ku oikea suomi. Se on niin helppo.
Our Language is NICER than real Finnish. It's so simple. (Female, 20 years, Matarenki.)

I Sverige talar vi svenska.
In Sweden we speak Swedish. (A teacher in Kainulasjärvi, 1964; said in Swedish.)

Jag har förbjudit min pappa att tala svenska med mig.
I have forbidden my father to speak any Swedish to me. (A teenage boy in Kainulasjärvi; said in Swedish.)

Mie olen sekakielinen.
I am mixed lingual. (Female, 37 years, Matarenki.)

Jag är inte en minoritet, jag är svensk.
I'm not a minority, I'm Swedish. (Older man, Haparanda; said in Swedish.)

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